



AKWESASNE NOTES

"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

Volume 5
Number 5

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Early Autumn, 1973
(our August issue, mailed
out October 15, sorry 'bout that.)

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(forty-eight pages)



The Big Dipper: This monstrous equipment is used for strip-mining



What Stripped Land is Like: Black Mesa, Four Corners area



... and it's all coming to the Montana Reservations, courtesy of American Progress & Civilization



IN THIS ISSUE:

ENERGY SELL-OUT THREATENS
CHEYENNE & CROW NATIONS
WOUNDED KNEE ISN'T OVER:
MASSIVE LEGAL BATTLE SHAPES
SECRET GOVERNMENT STRATEGY
REVEALED IN CANADIAN PAPERS

... and other news of interest to
native and natural peoples on:

EDUCATION, HEALTH, POETRY,
LETTERS, BOOKS, RESOURCES
and a special survey of genocide of
native people in South America





HOW IT IS WITH US:

Sorry we're so late with this issue — it seems that there is so much activity going on connected with this newspaper that the actual paper gets lost in the shuffle. Troubles with plumbing, problems in the community, all the business details, just worrying about survival and finances from one day to the next means that free time to think and write and type is often hard to come by. We hope — with your support and help — we will have another issue out about November 1.

The End-of-the-Season Ceremony has been held, giving us a chance to review the year, as is customary at that time. There were the trials a year ago — one to remove young traditionals off the reservation at Akwesasne, and another to remove Rarihokwats from the United States. The first case is still in court, and the second was won by our side. About the same time last Autumn, there was the Trail of Broken Treaties in Washington, D.C., and a special issue of NOTES marked that event. Kanatakeniate, associated editor of NOTES, was elected president of the American Indian Press Association, and Rarihokwats received the Marie Potts Award of the AIPA. Then, our postal permit was cancelled — and publication halted temporarily. Fortunately, we were able to get out a special issue covering the first month at Wounded Knee, and another issue primarily devoted to the last portion of the occupation. Both issues received wide acclaim, and a book is now in process reprinting that coverage. Eventually, with the help of the Program of American Studies at SUNY at Buffalo and D-Q University, our postal permit came through. During all this time, many NOTES staff members travelled extensively (44,000 miles) with White Roots of Peace to help raise funds and spread the word. One place we went: Washington, D.C., to receive the Robert F. Kennedy Award for outstanding journalism on behalf of the disadvantaged. Somehow, we survived — tired, but more healthy than ever. We hope everyone had a more peaceful year, but that as you review where you're at, you find yourself solidly on the sun's path, and in harmony with the whole Creation.



**AKWESASNE
NOTES**
WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DREAMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) the Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga.

Winner: Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972).

Member: American Indian Press Association
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DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page — check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month, it is some Quebec addresses, some whose zip codes begin with "8", and southern California who will have red labels. **ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US** if you are red-labelled, and your name will be re-instated. This is not an appeal for money, although we would appreciate any support you may wish to send at this special time.

HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE AKWESASNE NOTES

... ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies. ... leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, or workplace, in an Indian center or tribal office. ... sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment: send us 35 cents for each copy actually sold for 50 cents. Timid: get a bundle of six copies for \$2. Bolder ones: order a pack of 20 for \$5 (prepaid). **GET THE WORD OUT!**

TO SUBSCRIBE

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs over \$4,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add another \$1,000 — and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive.

Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have been received. And since we have no grants, no other sources of finances, we must depend on you, the readers for our survival

FIRST CALL FOR CALENDARS! The 1974 AKWESASNE NOTES calendars will be ready Nov. 1. They're \$2, plus 25 cents for a mailing tube, postpaid. We never have enough to meet demand, and for the last two years there have been several printings. The large 16x22 pages have historical notes for most of the days, and each month is handsomely illustrated with drawings by Kahonhes and Karoniaktaje. They are attractive and educational — recommended for homes, offices, and classrooms and as posters. The calendars are also good for money-raising, especially for native causes — a bundle of 50 calendars can be had for \$50, bringing the selling group an additional \$50 profit. This year's calendars have a sturdy plastic binding to make hanging easier. First come, first serve. Write: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

(other publications: you can help by running the above as an advertisement for us. Thanks.)

A NEW AKWESASNE NOTES BOOK

B.I.A. — We're Not Your Indians Anymore (The Trail of Broken Treaties and the Twenty Point Program). This book is a reprint of the NOTES coverage of the Trail of Broken Treaties to Washington, D.C., last November, the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters, and the eventual destruction of that building. But more important, this paperback book contains the Twenty Point Program, the reason the Trail went to Washington. It also contains the White House reply to the Twenty Points, and a rebuttal by native leaders. We believe this dialogue is of immense importance to native peoples, and to the American peoples, and that it should be discussed in churches, political science classes, on reservations, by all who want a happy relationship between native peoples and American peoples. It's about 100 pages, with good binding — it costs \$1.95 postpaid, and in quantity at the usual discounts. Order one for yourself — and see that it is in your bookstores, your classrooms, and libraries. Order several for holiday giving. The books can also be ordered for resale by Indian groups, urban centers and others trying to raise funds — and to raise consciousness. Write:

Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

(other publications: you can help by running the above as an advertisement — review copies of the book and calendar are available upon request. Thanks.)

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- lamps for desks & floor lamps
- a ditto machine
- photographic equipment
- used or wholesale citizen's band radio
- scissors
- good typewriters



MOVING? PLEASE SEND US YOUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS — IT SAVES US MONEY AND INSURES YOU WILL GET NOTES.

(be sure to include your old address and zip — and your new zip too.)



—photo by Claus Biegert

In August, two NOTES staff members were married. They are Roy Davis (center) and Kahonttoni (right), shown here talking with Rarihokwats, NOTES editor. They will continue their volunteer full-time work — Roy is responsible for shipping books, posters, and back issues, while Kahonttoni assists him and writes to new subscribers and others needing information. Just as they have supported us in their efforts, so we give our support to them in their life together.



AKWESASNE NOTES staff consists of many people who help in so many ways — all over the world. Those whose lives revolve around NOTES are Kahonttoni, Roy Davis, Connie, Doug, Rokawho, Rarihokwats, Karoniaktatie, Pegi, Sue, Katsitsiakwa. And then there are those who come in to glue, tie, collate, bag, and cook during those endless days of mailing an issue. To everyone who makes this paper possible, we give thanks to each other.

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials — articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists — we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

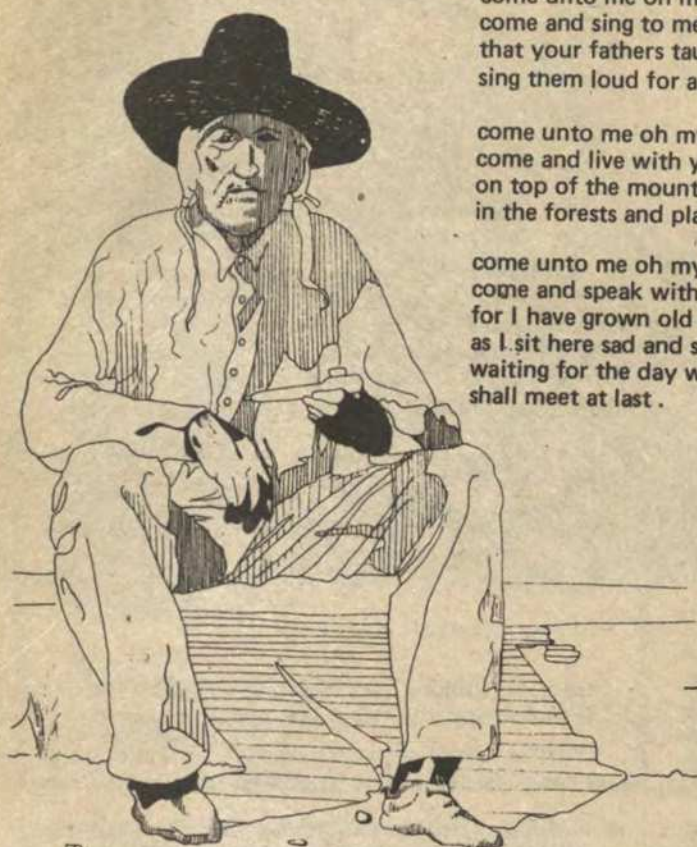
sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper — native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check out your school or public library. If they don't subscribe, suggest that they do so. If they can, encourage them to send a contribution — most send \$5.

support the paper financially, if you are able. Particularly now during the summer months when people tend to forget.

Everything in this paper came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.



— R. A. Swanson
(from his book
Solemn Spirits)

My People

Speak you someone
Who knows what to say
When they come in a dream
Masked desperate angels
From the valley of a massacre.
Flames of dust rise to the clear air
And the smoke of suffocation
Clings to their stricken clothing.
Reeling with anger
To be told simply the truth,
They come.

— Duane Big Eagle
(Xutha-tonga)

TECUMSEH'S VISION

Like a panther lying in wait
for many, many years,
The spirit of Tecumseh waits
(the time is getting near).
Arising now within us
Renewing now our strength,
Calling now for unity
Across this nation's length.
The visions of Wovoka,
The Wisdom of Sequoyah—
The strength of Crazy Horse
The compassion of Chief Joseph
All unite within us . . .
No more talk of half-breeds
or with who they cast their lot
For the half-breeds of our history
are too good to be forgot:
Osceola of the Seminole
Quanah Parker, the Comanche
and John Ross, the Cherokee
All have fought to keep us free.
Spirits of these men and others
building strength again within,
Once again we will be brothers,
and with *unity* we'll win!

— Bob Bacon

EYE OF GOD

Sway song
Chant of the old
Breaths of ancestors
Whisper the shore
Rays of memories
Pass in aurora.
Grandfather speaks
of yesterday
The legend moonlight hunts.

Oh, morning
My spirit draws near you
The rain clears the air
and my heart feels
the sun.
Long ago the waves
were saltier
and the People strong.

— Jim Tollerud

come unto me oh my children
come and speak with your grandfather

† have grown old and lonely
as I sit here sad and silent

come unto me oh my children
come and sing to me the songs
that your fathers taught you
sing them loud for all to hear

come unto me oh my children
come and live with your grandfather
on top of the mountains and mesas
in the forests and plains

come unto me oh my children
come and speak with your grandfather
for I have grown old and lonely
as I sit here sad and silent
waiting for the day when we
shall meet at last.

& th beat of that heart
--- for th vengers

83 years & 2 months after woundd nee
th assistant attorney general
comments on a slite irritation
-- th 11 hostages
& '300' hunting rifle armd redmen
facing armord personnel carriers
(th after-image
of hollywood wagon circles)
th claim some r elderly
& I has a heart condition
th precedent has been establishd
obtaining th prisoners
is th main target

we all white folks
have a heart condition
& this edition
is lacking
th consideration & manners
to plainly state
we r what we r:

blood oozes from our pours
flesh rots under our finger nails
we stand on babes screaming
our speech but magafone emotion
we carefully listen in ambush
with our eyes looking to a god
we eat once a month

while th professors
politely joust with words
about theater of th absurd
articulating for secure-tenured moneys
& hands rubber gloved
holding th scripts
pull from th core
tangents of abstraction
& speak cute jokes
humoring a college audience
curious as to y th common frenchmen
attends th action repeatdly

th decadence reeks
th much talkd about flower
of western culture another myth
for th hypnotized
&
all th redman asks is justice
but THAT s ice
dripping th bEAT or b bEATEN
THAT is th language
of our hearts work for death (dEATh)
its pulse rides th north wind
whose color is black
white's after-image

— karl kempton
mar 1 1973 slc

i am the dance
forward
i am the dance
backward
i am hand in hand
eyes closed
voice soaring
i am wind
the dance
the heartbeat
the drum
i am hand in hand
i am touching
earth
hand in hand
i am touching
sky
eyes closed
voice soaring
eyes open
hand in hand
i am raised above
eyes open
voice leaving
& gaining
the power circle
that will find
me raised above
the dance
i am
i am the step
moccasin'd whisper
your smile
comes to me
across
the smoke
weaving light
& dark &
drum
the water drawn
by full moon
rub the ashes
on face &
hair
hand in hand
your smiles
come to me
across
the dance
i am
forward
i am the dance
backward
i am the lifetime
eyes closed
the wind

— karoniaktatie

native child / moment in a life

arlene grasps my finger
secrets lie inside that mountain
and curl in blackblue strands
of hair flying behind

wetgrass sucks in rain
quietly

humming newmade songs
we rest on sweetgrass
youngeyed old men wipe
their mouths to sing

my past skitters out
of me now, it is revealed

moments will endure, truly
clutch at this time before
our lives are impaled, only
braided men chant that song

"she'll be going down to
chilocco . . . that school soon"

it is a trap of simple string
see, how they hold in her chest
and songs, send her off to that
school yes give her that ugly life

if the heart is let free
the moment will
the song will

endure

— pineapple

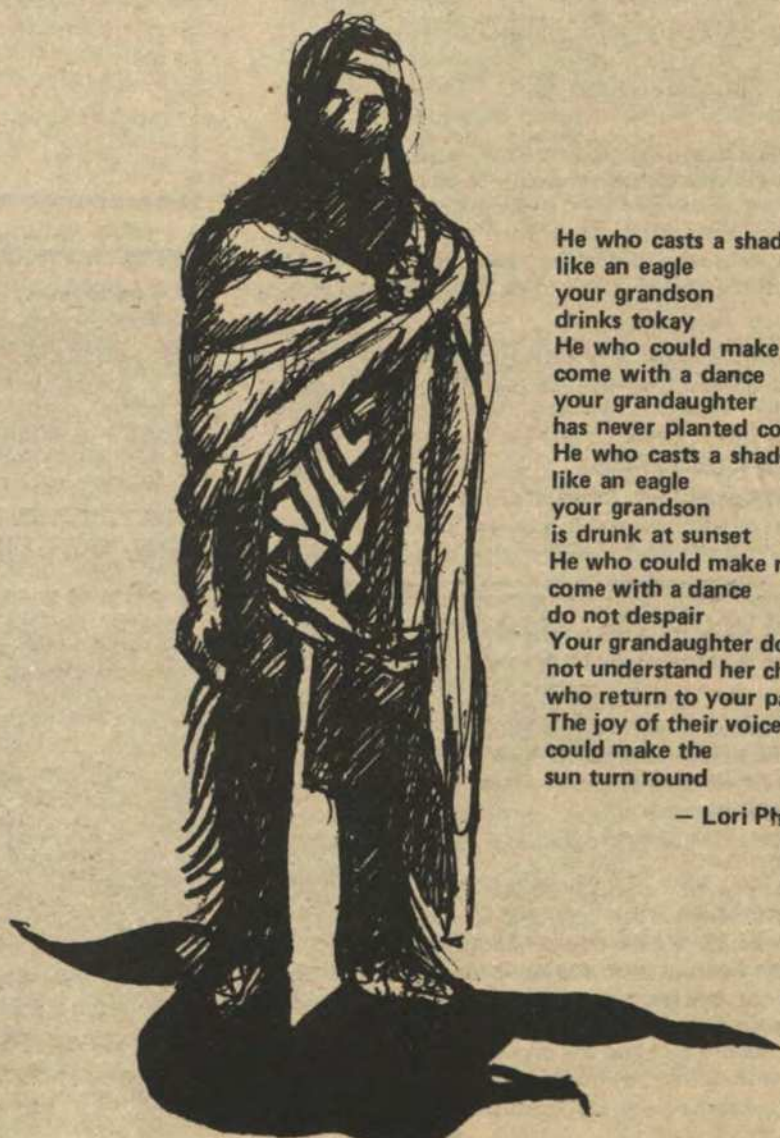
poetry

GIFTS

these things i bring today to you
in my hand the song of wind
in my hand the dream of eagle
in my hand the path of deer
in my hand the line where the stars rise

tomorrow these things i bring to you
the nation's hoop born inside of me
the nation's hoop born inside of you
and a dream with children rising
over a line where the stars rise
born to the ancient path
children of our peoples rising
born of the wind and born of the eagle
beautiful wind children rising with songs
beautiful eagle children rising with light
children rising with hope for the nations

— gayle high pines



He who casts a shadow
like an eagle
your grandson
drinks tokay
He who could make rain
come with a dance
your granddaughter
has never planted corn
He who casts a shadow
like an eagle
your grandson
is drunk at sunset
He who could make rain
come with a dance
do not despair
Your granddaughter does
not understand her children
who return to your path
The joy of their voices
could make the
sun turn round

— Lori Piatte

AN EMPTY BLACK PIT

— "formerly the Cheyenne Reservation."

"I am a Cheyenne. I have traded my tribal lands to the coal company for a pocketful of greenbacks.

"I have sold the land of my tribal heroes. Now the money is gone, and I am alone.

"The history books will say: 'Once there was a reservation. Once there was people called the Northern Cheyenne.

"Now there is nothing. Nothing but an empty black pit."

(This statement was nailed to the wall of the Jimtown Bar, just across the reservation line.)

Lame Deer, Montana — The Northern Cheyenne here wonder if the energy crisis of the Euro/American people will spell out their doom. Under the tan sandstone buttes and the rolling, grassy river bottoms of their 415,000-acre reservation here — an isolated area 100-miles east of Billings which they struggled for until it was finally awarded to them in 1884 — lies a large deposit of coal.

Large Eastern fuel conglomerates are bidding for it as if it were gold. Until recently, Western coal was regarded as too distant from consumers to be of importance. But because the fuel here is low in sulphur and can be burned to generate electricity without violating Federal air pollution limits on sulphur dioxide emissions, the enormous reserve in the Fort Union Basin of Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas has suddenly become much more of importance.

Some experts believe that the area — one of the few places in the U.S. where you can still get some sense of how it was before the white man came — will become the largest industrial development in the world. That is the forecast of the 20 electric utilities — including the Interior Department's own Bureau of Reclamation — in a report which is available from the Bureau, entitled *North Central Power Study — Phase I, Volume I*.

James E. Parker of the Bureau's power division in Washington says that the power development alone might be one of the largest in the world. It would, alone, produce one-seventh of the electricity now used in the United States.

Water would be carried from a complex system of aqueducts from the Bighorn, Yellowstone, Tongue, and Powder Rivers to cool the plants. More than 4/5 of the Yellowstone's water would be needed.

The utility executives view the semi-arid prairie and badlands where the plants would be built as virtual wasteland, good only for the grazing of a few cattle. "My God, they want us to worry about the lichen," said the executive of one firm, exasperated with what he called the "nit-picking" of an environmental group.

Ecologists view it differently. To them, it is a delicate eco-system, subject to damage from even minor stresses let alone something like strip-mining. And then the Cheyenne and Crow have their own religious/ecological perspective.

Certainly the view of some native people will be that the development will bring jobs, and tribal councils will see royalties coming in to their treasury. But primarily, the people who will get rich from the project will be those who finance it, those who build it, those who utilize the power in far-away places — they lack only one thing to make it possible, and that's the fuel, much of which is under Indian land.

The Northern Cheyenne people own the biggest chunk of the reserve — perhaps two billion tons. Tom Gardner, a 37-year-old Cheyenne who is the reservation's antipoverty and community action director, says that the Cheyenne are facing a "question of the white man's extinction of our way of life. We see prosperity from the coal," he says. "But we also see many thousands of white people — perhaps 30,000 miners and technicians and the people serving them, when we are only a few thousand. We see a population explosion, with bars, beer taverns, and discrimination against our people. My people are not competitive in the white man's sense and will be left out, swept aside. So it is not only coal we would lose and the damage to our lands for a few million dollars. It is our life."



—Wally McNamee/Newsweek

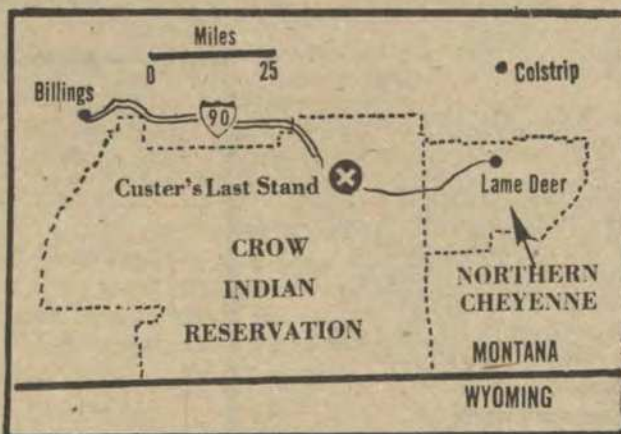
Strip mining in Wyoming: the beginning of a new Appalachia? Montana is next.

About 6 months ago, a report from the government's auditors, the General Accounting Office, reported on the stripping of Indian lands elsewhere — trees, grasses, and topsoils had been removed under less-than-ideal supervision. Leases that were negotiated by the Interior Department to "help" the Indians had been, instead, overly favorable to the mining industry. It said that the leases didn't even follow the department's own environmental and reclamation requirements.

Interior replied to the criticism by saying it did not have enough money to properly police the matter, but congressional critics observed that the department hadn't asked for any new money to upgrade its efforts in this area.

When President Richard Nixon gave his recent environmental message to the U.S. Congress, he offered pro-industry proposals which last year were rejected by the House in favor of a stronger bill. This would indicate that if the native peoples are to have strict enforcement or prohibition of strip-mining, they will have to do it themselves.

Even white people in the area are starting to understand what it might mean to be an Indian. Most of them do not own mineral rights to their lands, and are almost helpless to prevent the large companies from strip-mining. As they move out to aid "progress", they must think of how their own forebears not so very long ago usurped the land from the Indians — for the same reason.



If Consolidation — which is owned by Continental Oil Company — wins the leaserights, they will have the right to assign their rights to other firms, to sublease railroad or roadway rights, and control the whole thing.

Another Continental company, Hanna Coal, operates strip mines in the east. One machine, the Giant Earth Mover, is as big as an office building. It is 200 feet high, weighs more than 7,000 tons. It operates 24-hours a day 7 days a week, and uses enough electricity to supply a city of 15,000. It is operated by one man, who rides in an elevator up to his cab. Each chomp takes out 220-cubic yards of earth.

Strip mining has to be seen to be believed. The monster machines cut deep, long trenches one beside the other to reach the coal. The pulverized rock and earth taken from the trenches is dumped nearby in large mounds. This results in the complete destruction of the land — landslides, erosion and siltation are major results. Erosion entering streams and rivers destroys them as life-supporting waters. Acid and mineral pollution also result as the coal shale is brought to the surface.

While the companies point to certain areas that have been somewhat reclaimed, to date of the 1.8 million acres of land damaged by stripping, only 56,000 acres have been reclaimed in any way.

Efforts to halt strip-mining across the United States have been underway for years, and legislation to halt the operators was stalled in the last Congress. In Kentucky, mountain women have united to lay down in

front of bulldozers — some went to jail for interfering with operations on their own land.

Whether Cheyenne people will be called upon to do the same depends on what happens next in Lame Deer.

Even the U.S. Senate was not immune to executive arrogance. Secretary of Interior Morton refused to uphold a resolution passed by the Senate October 12, 1972, calling for a moratorium on further coal leasing of federal lands in Montana for one year, or until the Senate could act on strip-mining legislation. (Members of Morton's family are coal-mine corporation executives with interests in Montana.)

Indian lands in Montana contain approximately one-third of the state's total 30-billion tons of strippable coal reserves. Some of it is owned by the Fort Peck Reservation in northeastern Montana, but the largest and most valuable deposits underlie the entire Crow and Northern Cheyenne reservations in the southeastern part of the state, roughly in the heart of the prized Colstrip-Gillette area.

Beginning in 1966, the BIA — the legal protector of Indian resources which must approve all tribal permits and leases — brought coal companies to the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council, encouraging that body ultimately to sign a total of eleven exploratory permits for the tribe's land. Uninformed of the omissions and deficiencies of the BIA coal leases, the tribal council put its trust in its trustees, the BIA, one of whose officials urged immediate action by saying as late as 1972, "There are indications coal will be a salable product for only a few years."

Encouraged to take money while the taking was still good (bonuses, rentals with a floor of one dollar per acre, and royalties of 17.5 cents a ton) the tribe let out to Peabody, Amax, Consol, Norsworthy & Reger, and Bruce Ennis a total of 243,808 acres — a startling 56% of the reservation's entire acreage!

The permits were loosely worded as to reclamation and other environmental considerations, and gave the operators the right to exercise lease options which were appended as part of the original agreements and which set forth the monetary and other terms of the leases. Thus, a permit holder could explore for the coal, discover its value, then secure it without the seller being able to negotiate for the really true value of the coal. The leases, in turn, gave the purchaser the right to use the Indian land for all manner of buildings and installations necessary for the production, processing, and transportation of the coal, opening the way for the construction of power, conversion, and petrochemical plants, railroad lines, associated industrial complexes, and new towns of non-Indians, whose numbers would submerge the approximately 2500 Northern Cheyennes and turn the reservation quickly into an industrialized white man's domain.

Most members of the tribe were uninformed about the terms of the leases, but when Peabody and Amax exploration crews appeared, drilling among the Indian burial grounds and disrupting Indian lives, friction and unrest developed rapidly. Fearful for the future of the reservation, their culture, and the tribe itself, a number of Cheyenne, mostly those who held allotments of their own land on the reservation, formed the Northern Cheyenne Landowners' Association to oppose the coal development.

At almost the same time, Consol entered negotiations with the tribal council for another 70,000 acres of the tribe's land, which would have brought the total acreage held by permittees to 72% of the reservation. Consol's proposal, which was not made public to the tribal members, offered \$35 an acre and a royalty of 25 cents a ton — 7.5 cents above what the federal government was getting for BLM coal, and what the Cheyennes had received in all previous leases.

To the startled tribal council, Consol explained that it intended to invest approximately \$1.2 billion in an in-

dustrial complex that would include four coal gasification units, and that implied a city of perhaps 30,000 non-Indian people inundating the small Indian community. The company was in a rush to get the permit signed. It urged the Cheyennes to forgo the usual practice of asking for competitive bids ("it would mean the loss of several months income") and it offered the tribe \$1.5 million toward the cost of a new medical center — needed badly by the Indians, but also by the non-Indian industry, whose employees would, according to a clause in the proposed agreement, have access to the facility — inevitably to become the center's major users.

THE "NEW INDIANS" ?

Sir: In answer to the question, "Should the residents of one region of the nation be asked to give up their land and traditions for the good of other Americans living hundreds of miles away?"

Why ask them?

We need that coal! Let's do the same to them as we did to the American Indians. Move 'em out. Put 'em on reservations! Strip the land! And when citizens of the Big Sky country get too angry or too loud, you can label them "militants" who are over-reacting.

Lois Blaese
Columbus, New Jersey

(The above letter appeared in the Letters to the Editor to Time, May 7, 1973.)

The company had pressed hard to present an acceptable offer to the Cheyenne council. Giving the tribal council just 15 days to accept or reject it, a July 7 letter from Dell Adams, the company's western vice-president, said that if the offer were not accepted "at an early date, Consol would be forced to take the project elsewhere. If it is necessary to do this," the letter warned, "this project will be lost to the Northern Cheyenne and it may be a long time before a project of this magnitude comes again, if ever."

But the company, which had prospective customers of its own for the coal, needed the deal more than the Cheyennes did. Word of the proposal leaked out to the Northern Cheyenne Landowners' Association, and public meetings were held, cautioning the tribal council to go slowly. The higher price offered by Consol also started new thinking. But when Peabody exercised its options to lease at the old low price, it raised the question of whether the initial transactions were fair.

Peabody's activities also were causing many resentments among the Cheyenne — the terms of the lease were now seen to be too loose for the protection of the reservation; the enforcement of strip-mining procedures in the code of federal regulations was not being observed by the BIA, and the possibility that corporations would erect gasification plants and other installations on Peabody's leased land posed a fearful threat to the Cheyennes future.

The same questions were raised about Amax's permit, while in connection with a third permit, given to Bruce Ennis, the Billings lawyer, and then assigned by him to Chevron, the Cheyennes wondered if there had been speculation with their property, and if Ennis had received a royalty from Chevron on top of their own 17.5 cents — which would have been illegal.

After more public meetings and deliberations, the Northern Cheyennes called in an attorney of the Native American Rights Fund in Boulder, Colorado, for advice and to write an environmental code which would protect the reservation. Other attorneys were consulted, and on March 5, postponing further consideration of the Consol proposal with its threat of gasification plants, the BIA was told to declare null and void all their existing coal permits and leases.

Attorney Joseph Brecher of the Native American Rights Fund said that it would be possible for the tribal council to require companies to pay an assessment on mined coal, as well as royalties. Tribal natural resources codes could outlaw mining where revegetation is impossible. Brecher said legal action might also rescind approval already granted by the BIA for existing exploration permits and mining leases. He contends that federal laws were violated when the BIA did not insist on environmental safeguards before approving the agreements.

Brecher, who is a veteran of the Black Mesa legal battles on the Navajo Nation and Hopi Nation, said that plans for Montana and Wyoming indicated "Black Mesa is going to be chicken feed compared with what they are talking about for you guys up here."

At present, the only controls on strip mining on Indian reservations are contained in the BIA's regulations. They lag behind the best state reclamation laws. There is no Federal reclamation law, and the proposed Montana law now before the Legislature in Helena would not apply to reservations.

At the same time, the tribal council implied that if the agency refused to undertake such action, the Northern Cheyennes would consider suing the federal government for not having protected the tribe and its resources, either in the drawing up and approving of the agreements, or in the observance of provisions in the code of federal regulations. The tribal council indicated, more-

over, that the Indians might prefer to mine and market their own coal themselves, drawing on independent expertise and with the advice of competent environmental scientists, protecting the reservation with proper planning, regulations, and controls.

Whether the tribal councils could actually get such an operation together is questionable — even the operation of the tribally-owned motel on each reservation has proved troublesome and controversial. Some tribal members worry that the tribal councils are so psychologically tied in to the BIA that when the pressures are on, it is the voice of the people that will be heard last.

Already the social disruption on the reservation is so great that the people cannot respond well to the threat staring at them — and an influx of money is only likely to add to the social problems. "Some say go ahead, some don't have time to think, some can't think, some don't think, some are still praying, some are still passed out, others are too drunk to talk," a young Cheyenne activist says impatiently.

As has happened on other lands, it is the traditional — the ones who hold to Cheyenne ways — who have the greatest backbone of opposition to the loss of their land. Tribal elders, speaking in Cheyenne in the presence of the Four Sacred Arrows and the Medicine Hat at a meeting on the Tongue River recently, spoke against selling the land at any price.

"When the Arrow-Keeper, Medicine Hat Keeper, Sun Dance pledges, and traditionally-conscious people of both northern and southern parts of the Cheyenne Nation stand against selling the land, what Cheyenne can stand up and speak from a Cheyenne heart and say, 'Sell the land,' " a traditional spokesman said.

But Vietnam-like, while the tribal demand was being pondered by solicitors of the Interior Department, the coal companies' plans went forward. On March 21st, Peabody announced it would supply 500-million tons of coal from its Northern Cheyenne strip-mine to the Northern Natural Gas Company of Omaha, and the



—Liberation News Service
First they take the land (200 tons at once)

Cities Service Gas Company of Oklahoma City, which jointly would build four gasification plants, at a cost of \$1.4-billion, presumably in the vicinity of the mine. Each plant would employ up to 600 people (meaning an influx of many more non-Indians) and construction of the first plant would start in 1976. Peabody's coal would, moreover, only fuel two of the giant plants — the gas companies would need another 500-million tons from a second mine, which the Cheyennes guessed would be opened by one of the other permit-holders.

Somewhat similar events were transpiring, meanwhile, on the Crow Reservation, which abuts that of the Northern Cheyennes. The Crows had let out permits for 292,680 acres, including rights to the coal in the off-reservation Sarpy area, whose surface the Crows no longer owned. Some of the rights to that coal had been bought from them for 17.5 cents a ton by Norsworthy & Reger, who had then assigned the rights to Westmoreland — with an overriding royalty of 5 cents a ton which would not be paid to the Crows, but to N&R.

In addition, when making the original deal, N&R had persuaded the Crows that they could not sell their coal unless they also handed over rights to 30,000 acre/feet of water a year (which would be needed for gasification plants). Unknowingly, the Crows obliged, transferring one of their water options from agricultural to industrial use, and turning it over to N&R. Altogether, in fact, the Crows gave away to the different coal companies valuable options for 140,000 acre/feet of water per year without a penny of payment.

Testimony by James Reger to the Montana Water Resources Board in Helena on May 20, 1971, relating how he had maneuvered the water from the Crows, angered the Crow People when it came to their attention two years later. Again, the tribe felt that the BIA had not offered protection, and now, as with the Northern Cheyennes, violations were noted in all the permits, and fears were raised for the future of their people.

Early in 1973, lease options were exercised by Gulf and Shell for reservation lands. A report was circulated that a non-Indian city of up to 200,000 people was being considered for the neighborhood of Wyola or Lodge Grass on the reservation. Sentiment for cancelling all the tribe's leases spread rapidly, and the tribal chairman met with attorneys and Montana environmental experts

and indicated that the Crows might take actions paralleling those of the Northern Cheyennes.

The resentment of the two tribes could seriously threaten some of the major projects being planned for the heart of one of the principal coalfields. As such, they would prove a significant impediment to the federal government's encouragement of the full-scale exploitation of the Western coal. But there is a still greater threat inherent in the indictment that Indians, once again, were defrauded by their trustee, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which, abetting the coal companies, opened the reservations to an exploitation marked by unfair terms, lack of protection, and deceit.

Throughout the country, other native people are coming to recognize that the massive nature of the coal developments means the end of the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations as they have been, and with it, the almost certain extinction of those peoples as tribal groups. As a result, the situation has a growing significance to all native people, and bids fair to become another source of explosive confrontation between them and the United States Government.

For the Nixon Administration, a likely strategy will be to get into office tribal leaders who will go along with the exploitation as "economic development", which will be pointed to as a worthy example of Indian "self-determination". At stake is the administration's master plan for finding new sources of energy. Nixon has called for a step-up in coal production to ease energy shortages.

It is possible that money will talk. The Cheyenne and Crow reservations contain many people living in hard-core poverty. As tribal chairman Allen Rowland says, "So many here have had it hard for so long." The royalty of 17.5 cents for 2 billion tons of coal would work out to more than \$116,000 for each of the 3,000 Northern Cheyennes on the reservation — certainly something of a temptation.

To critics of the mining who say the coal companies will "ruin the reservation," some, like 18-year-old Ervin Small, who makes \$98.50 per week while he is studying welding, say, "It couldn't be any worse than it is now."

The possibility of confrontation is something that the U.S. worries about. As one official told Ben Franklin of the *New York Times*, "there is the desire of the administration here in Washington, and of the Northern Cheyenne leaders, to keep radical Indians, like those of the American Indian Movement, off the Montana reservations."

Actually, the coal mining may be small potatoes compared to the struggles just appearing on the horizon. In late August, the Interior Department opened the way for bidding on oil shale holdings in the Rockies. There, the oil is trapped in shale, and only one technical process is thought to be feasible to extract it — underground nuclear explosions.



(Thanks to Alvin Joseph Jr., for his article in Audubon, to George C. Wilson of the Washington Post, Richard Gilluly of Science News, Liberation News Service, Calvin Kentfield of the New York Times Magazine, and Ben A. Franklin of the New York Times News Service, Michael Wenninger of the Billings Gazette, and to the Louisville, Kentucky, Courier-Journal, for information on which this article is based.)

It is up to the Northern Cheyenne and Crow people, themselves, to get together and see that their tribal councils respond to the wishes of the people.

But pressure is needed calling on Interior Department to comply with the wishes of the people — and if Interior won't act, maybe Congress will. Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton, Washington, D.C., should be good enough for an address.

Letters of support and encouragement, offers of special talents and ideas, or money to help out, can be sent to:

Cheyennes Against Strip Mining
POBox 83
Lame Deer, Montana 59043

Stolen Papers From Indian Affairs Building Embarrass Canadian Government

Ottawa, Canada — A 24-hour occupation of Indian Affairs Headquarters in Canada's capital August 30 didn't seem to faze government officials too much.

But after the 200-person occupation force left the building, it was discovered that top-secret government files had been removed from the building. Smashed locked file cabinets and fire-axes were discovered on the roof of the large sky-scraper plush office building used by the Department.

Although the Ottawa City Police were called to the scene by Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien, they refused to mount an armed attack for fear of heavy casualties on one or both sides.

"I have asked the police to do their job," Chretien told reporters as he emerged from a cabinet meeting. He said he would talk with the demonstrators after they had vacated the building.

The stated reason for the protest, according to Vic Pierre, executive director of the Winnipeg branch of the Native Youth Association, was a youth liaison program administered by Indian Affairs. They demanded that the program be halted immediately, and said it had been instituted without consultation with native youth organizations.

Indian Affairs had hired 33 native persons, luring them with jobs at salaries up to \$12,000-a-year, to "coordinate native youth programs."

Demonstrators said they also wanted government action to stop the James Bay project, to implement the Jay Treaty providing for free border passage for native people, and to deal with the British Columbia Land Claims. The demonstrators effectively prevented department workers from entering the building. Ottawa policemen were kept from entering the building too until finally agreement was reached whereby a few officers were allowed in "for security purposes". The only incidents involved turning away disgruntled business-people who sought entry into the building.

"Shades of Wounded Knee," swore a man, peering in at the throng dancing around a drum in the lobby of the building. "Look at 'em in there. Damn it -- what kind of a society is it where a bunch of kids can take over a government building and keep decent people from going to work?" The man identified himself as a public servant.

Strategy for the occupation had been developed during a youth convention held on an island in the St. Lawrence River at Akwesasne, some 75 miles from Ottawa, in the days just preceding the occupation.

Indian Affairs officials tried to pretend they were not upset by having two-hundred long-haired fist-clenching strong native youth sitting in their offices.

"I would say that this occupation is part of the youth liaison program," John McGilp, a senior official said as he pretended that the occupation was a part of "meaningful dialogue."

Ottawa officials had tried to discredit the Native Youth Association by saying that the NYA had mispent a grant given to it for another conference. However, president Art Manuel produced a copy of a departmental letter dated August 28 and signed by assistant deputy minister John Ciaccia giving a written commitment that funds for the Akwesasne meeting would be provided.

The loss of the confidential documents was made public soon after the demonstrators left. Indian Affairs spokespersons would only say that the persons liberating the documents had been highly selective, and only the most secret of the files had been removed.

On August 31, there was a minor scandal when Royal Canadian Mounted Police breached the sanctity of Parliament, and rushed into the office of opposition member Flora MacDonald, Conservative Party critic on Indian matters. Members of Parliament are supposed to have immunity from such police investigation.

In what must be the quote of the month, RCMP sergeant J.H. Bradley said that he and his men had acted on a tip from Jim Bennett, an aide to assistant deputy minister of Indian Affairs John Ciaccia, who in turn said his source of information was from someone in the department "who had knowledge of departmental personnel who may have been sympathetic to the Indian cause."

The police officers left Parliament when a search revealed that there were no documents, and no "delivery man". Senior RCMP officials defended the action to raid the MacDonald offices.

Although a parliamentary inquiry into the matter was held, there was little fuss, and no action. It left native observers wondering how they could expect Members of Parliament to look after Indian rights, when MPs did not even defend their own rights.



If the vigilance of Parliament's guards was down for the invasion of the police recently, it has been high for native people who would violate the decorum of the colonial chambers. In February, security guards refused to allow Jerry Strawberry, Chief Jim Day Chief, and Lawrence Mackinaw (above) to enter the House of Commons, saying they weren't wearing neckties.

Meanwhile, the stolen documents were a political time bomb. Government officials feared that the activists would leak the documents at a time and in circumstances likely to be a severe embarrassment to the Federal Government, particularly in regard to its relations with Quebec — many of the missing files were about the federal stance in regard to the James Bay Hydro scheme. The concern of the officials is deepened by the fact that the native people have seen little reason to care about any resulting damage to Quebec-Ottawa relations.

But in mid-September, the leaks began. Television station CJOH reported it had received photocopies of some of the papers, and made news reports on the contents which made front-page headlines in newspapers across Canada. Some native organizations said they had received copies as well, while others refused comment. Station officials at CJOH would not say how they acquired the documents.

Eventually, the missing files were returned. An anonymous phone call to an editor of the alternative newspaper, *Last Post*, in Montreal, said some papers which would be of interest to Jean Chretien were in baggage lockers in a terminal. The RCMP came to the scene to transport the documents back to Ottawa, where, presumably, a red-faced Canadian Government had found a new stronghold for its top-secret files on how it planned to give native peoples self-determination.



Native Youth Occupy the "Seat of Power" — A Corridor Scene in Indian Affairs Headquarters in Ottawa

Persons expecting dramatic secrets to emerge from the "secret, confidential, not to be photocopied, for hand delivery only, restricted, for your eyes alone" documents would be disappointed — if material sent to newsmen is any indication. Those photocopies were of mostly routine bureaucratic raw materials, but they still indicated the massive unrelenting nature of the administrative process and its inadequacy in dealing with human beings and native communities.

Most of the wrong-doing within the Indian Affairs Department seems not to be of conscious design, but is primarily implicit in the very relationship of the Department to Native Peoples — racism can take many forms, most of them subtle and minor when examined one by one, but terribly controlling and damaging when looked at en masse.

Obviously, some of the individual things done by the Department of Indian Affairs are of value and are worthy — but these are not secret. To the contrary, the Department spends vast funds on "good public relations work". Thus this survey of the Ottawa documents tends to concentrate on problem situations and it will be left to the PR experts to present the other side of the story.

Native Land Claims to Cost Three Billion Dollars

Settling native claims along the same lines as Alaska would cost more than \$3-billion and many million acres of land, the Trudeau cabinet has been told in the secret documents, which urged that the cabinet not adopt the Alaskan formula as Canadian policy.

The document was dated just last April 5, and applied to the Yukon and British Columbia alone, the bill would be more than \$600-million and more than 26 million acres of land. The memorandum to the cabinet was from Indian Affairs Minister Chretien, who said after the secret was released that he "had nothing to be ashamed of."

The confidential paper said it was clear "that the native people had the right to use and occupy the land, and have lost it." The paper ruled out a settlement through legislation, or by reference to the Supreme Court of Canada in favor of negotiations such as those now started with the Yukon Indians.

Implicit in the government policy was the feeling that court settlements would imply that the native people have legal rights, rather than their being dependent upon a just moral, kindly, benevolent Canadian Government.

"Negotiations offer the only real prospect of acceptable comprehensive settlements oriented to the future and is the most flexible alternative," the paper says.

The document rejects as an "unacceptable bargaining position" a four-point statement of rights issued by the National Indian Brotherhood and endorsed by the House of Commons standing committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

It ruled out merely referring the matter to the Supreme Court, noting that some provinces might not give the necessary consent, and that the Indians would not easily accept an adverse judgment.

More important, however, is the government position that such a reference would solve only the legal problems and that the "problem is more social and political than legal." This position seems to contradict the government's approach to native rights in the James Bay, where there has been no settlement of any kind and the native people have had to turn to the courts.

When reports of the \$3-billion cash settlement scheme were made public, it was also rejected by American Indian Movement spokesman Mike Myers, a member of the Seneca Nation. He termed the payments "ludicrous," and an AIM press release said that "the spiritual decay of Indian country is at a point where that money would be burned up in a desperate blur of booze, cars, and good times." And as for the price, the Six Nations territory near Brantford would be entitled to almost the entire sum, he said.

(continued next page)

The press release warned that cash settlements would create exploitation of native people by some of their own.

"Indian groups will be at each other's throats in a fight for power . . . the bulk of Indian country would never see the monies or ever feel the result of the expenditures." Myers said that if there were a separate native educational system which would turn out "human beings instead of consumers" and groups who were aware of their spiritual heritage, "perhaps after five or ten years of re-education, such a large influx of government money would not be disruptive or squandered."

The Myers statement reaffirmed one of the strongest fears of Indian Affairs officials — that the American Indian Movement, which had until recently been most active in Indian country controlled by the United States, would turn its attention to communities controlled by Canada. AIM chapters have arisen spontaneously from British Columbia to Quebec.

"A Backlash from Dissident Environmentalists"

Another document dealt with the Mackenzie Highway which was announced in April by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. The corridor would also provide for a pipeline route and mining exploitation of North West Territories lands — all this before native claims and treaties in the NWT had been settled.

"A backlash of dissident voices must be expected from environmentalists" the document warns, but it expected that a simultaneous announcement of government willingness to settle treaties with northern Indians would silence any native opposition to the road. It noted that native people do not generally object to projects which ignore their rights, but bring certain benefits, suggesting that publicity pointing out advantages to native people would also moderate native complaints.

A 1971 document on a northern Canada oil pipeline urged the cabinet to reject the option of actively promoting the Canadian route over the Alaskan route, and to merely say it was willing to consider an application for an oil pipeline in the North.



Cabinet was told that the government's announced intention to negotiate settlements of Indian claims "could be a stabilizing factor, but any apparent failure to follow through or undue delay in negotiating native grievances might easily be exploited by militant elements, with potentially far-reaching emotional effect."

There were other options. Creation of a Canadian version of a U.S. Claims Commission would likely cost Canada \$2.5 billion. Or, a fixed lump sum could be set on a per capita basis, such as \$10,000 per person, which also could reach several billion dollars in payments.

Yukon Land Claims "Fits Nicely"

An Indian Affairs analysis of the Yukon Land Claim indicates that the Yukon position fit in nicely with the government's own ideas of what native people should be all about.

"There is a fine balance between pride in one's Indian-ness and way of life," the report says, "and encouragement of inward-looking xenophobia which could lead to an undesirable alienation of a minority group from the main society." It added that scattered throughout the paper was "a bow in the direction of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's concept of the noble savage, and it would be unfortunate if the Yukon Native Brotherhood paid much more than lip service to it."

Philosophically, the Yukon claim "should not create problems for Government," according to the analysis. It is "future oriented in line with the multi-cultural policies of the Government in that it emphasizes the desires of the Indians to cooperate with other Yukoners and Canadians in the economic and social development of the region and in planning for the future."

One problem area, however, was foreseen in regards to retention of hunting, fishing, and trapping rights by Yukon natives. "It will be hard to convince Indians who regard themselves as natural ecologists that majority societal needs must have priority," the report states. It suggests making the concession of some specific area for Indian hunting and fishing. It also suggested giving Indians a portion of big game hunting licenses as this was a subject "particularly galling to Indians."

The analysis also feared giving Yukon natives any controls or substantial royalties from mineral development. "It would not serve the best long-term interests of the Indians if concessions awarded them today should in-

volve them tomorrow in bitter controversies with the majority society, whose needs for scarce resources were jeopardized by terms of a rigid settlement," it says.

Also hinted in the report was the rationale behind the government providing conservatively-minded native organizations with the funds to research and present claims. Indians must feel that there was no lack of resources leading to "acceptance of a settlement less equitable than might otherwise have been the case. Justice must be seen to be done." The analysis was made May 7, 1973.

The Colonizers Compare Their Notes

On January 26, 1973, the Canadian High Commission in Canberra, Australia, sent information to Ottawa concerning the new Australia Aboriginal policy. The Labor Government immediately recognized land rights of the aboriginal people after the election last year, and set up a Judicial Commission which would advise the government on how the land rights should be granted back to the Aborigines. Another new initiative was teaching Aboriginal children in their own language throughout primary schooling, and teaching English only as a second language.

A memorandum on the subject was prepared for the deputy minister of Indian Affairs, together with the notation that the Canadian High Commissioner needed briefing material for carrying on discussions with the Australian authorities about this general line, as well as questions to ask to help Canada in developing a claims policy.

Justice vs. Indian Affairs

A seemingly serious split between the Justice Department and Indian Affairs Branch is evidenced by correspondence between John Ciaccia, assistant deputy minister for Indian Affairs and C.R.O. Munro, his counterpart in Justice. Ciaccia urged that native people be allowed to have their own attorneys argue the native viewpoint in cases affecting them, together with Justice Department attorneys. Justice, apparently, felt that it had the sole right to defend the Crown, but, as Ciaccia said, "we are not dealing here with the laws of the market place". He asked that Justice "look at the social needs of the people in the interpretation of statutes."

Hush Money — Will it Quiet Native Claims?

A 1972/73 Management Report lists both public and restricted objectives for the Indian Affairs Department. In the Northwest Territories, it proposed to seek a negotiated settlement of treaties 8 and 11. As a strategy, it proposes setting aside land for the band at Hay River according to the strict terms of the treaty. This land, the report says, would not be an Indian Reserve under the Indian Act, but that the Indian Affairs Branch would control and manage the land for the benefit of the band so that funds and leases would go to the band fund. "If this approach proves successful,"



— Canadian Press photo
The Native Mood on Parliament Hill Before Sit-In

the report states, "it may be used for other bands while the Brotherhood works on an overall claim."

The Branch also set a goal of getting 322 Indian children adopted over the course of the fiscal year. It notes that 2,184 Indian children were adopted over the last ten years — 1625 by non-Indians, and only 559 by Indian families. It notes that most of the increase in adoption rate can be expected from non-Indian families.

While it is well known that having native people perform bureaucratic tasks does not improve the situation much, it is still significant to see just how white the Indian Affairs Branch is. While one would assume that the Parks Branch, for instance, would be a logical employer of native people, only 11 natives are employed out of some 2,291 employees. In the administration of the Department there are 878 employees, of which only 16 are native persons. Indian Affairs Branch has about 1 native out of every 6 employees, although over half of these are in lower-level jobs.

Of course, the expenditure of monies alone does not mean any betterment for native peoples. As columnist and former Member of Parliament Douglas Fisher put it recently, "Obviously, one of the newer service industries of Canada is the Native People Industry. There's such a profusion of activity in terms of briefs, councils, brotherhoods, conventions, seminars, travel, and programs of a rehabilitative nature that no one person seems to have a grasp on it all, including the cost. From concern and action on alcoholism through to subsidies to support semi-professional hockey teams among Indian bands, there seems no imaginative limits to the new industry." He notes that there are 8,612 employees in a Department which several years ago had half that number and "was working its way out of a job." Over 32 men are "executives" earning over \$28,000 a year, mostly "helping the Indians."

(Thanks to reports from Jeff Caruthers, Shel MacNeil, and Henry Heald of the Ottawa Journal, Dennis Foley of the Ottawa Citizen, the Canadian Press, Commons Debates, Arthur Blakeley of Southam News Service, and station CJOH for this report.)

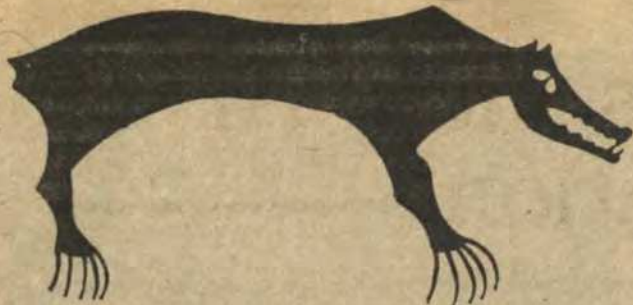
PARLIAMENT: CAN IT PROTECT INDIAN RIGHTS WHEN IT CAN'T PROTECT ITS OWN?

The invasion of Parliament by RCMP and Ottawa City Police to recover top-secret files liberated from the Department of Indian Affairs could either have been an effort to prevent the papers from reaching the hands of the opposition parties — or just a measure of the determination of the Government to get the papers back even if it meant disregard of the most basic rules of the traditional relationship between Crown and Parliament.

During the reign of Henry VIII, the father of Elizabeth I, the speaker of the House of Commons refused to admit the law enforcement officers of the Crown. When Elizabeth's successor, Charles II refused to honour the separation between Crown and Parliament, he was beheaded. It seems unlikely that the present Parliament will take comparable action to defend their sacred and ancient rights.

Instead, they referred the matter to a Committee on Privileges to determine appropriate action. Native people who are familiar with the effectiveness of parliamentary investigating committees looking into the violation of other people's rights could perhaps advise Flora MacDonald, whose offices were searched, what she can expect.

(With thanks to Mickey Posluns for his commentary.)



AIM Leader, Clyde Bellecourt, Shot & Critically Wounded At Rosebud Res.

Mission, South Dakota — The American Indian Movement gained and lost strength in August as the result of a series of unrelated heartening and tragic events. A national convention and Sun Dance had proven wrong the U.S. assertions that AIM was dead — but the alleged shooting of one leader by a newly-elected national chairman shook the movement's organization badly.

Clyde Bellecourt, 36, Anishnawbe from Minneapolis, Minnesota, was shot and critically wounded August 27 on the Rosebud reservation. He was taken to the Baptist Hospital in Winner, South Dakota, for four hours of surgery for removal of the bullet from his abdomen. The shot missed vital organs except for the pancreas.

Arrested in the shooting was Carter Camp, newly elected AIM chairman, of Ponca City, Oklahoma. He was taken into custody five miles west of Kilgore, Nebraska, by Cherry County Sheriff James Ward. He was unarmed, and was arrested without incident.

Also arrested later in northeastern Oklahoma was Craig Camp, 27, Carter's brother, and Leroy Cassados, 33, of Alliance, Nebraska. All have long association with AIM. Warrants charged all three with assault with a deadly weapon.

Tension has been high among AIM leaders because of the certain knowledge that someone — fairly close to the top — was working for the government. Important information was leaking out, and police knew more about travel plans that individuals themselves knew, it seemed.

When Carter Camp was arrested August 25 on charges that he had pulled a gun on a customer in a service station in Mission, S.D., and ordered the man to move on, he was arrested and taken before tribal judge Spencer Bearheels, who permitted Camp's release on \$100 bail. Some say that his prompt release made Clyde Bellecourt suspicious, possibly leading to a dispute. What was not known, however, was the fact later revealed by Tom Rhoads, the Mission police officer who arrested Camp, that an FBI agent called him within 45 minutes of Camp's arrest to say that under no conditions should Camp be released. The call arrived just too late, Rhoads said.

The shooting took place in the yard of a home three miles north of the village of Rosebud. Initially, the press reported that the wounded man was Vernon Bellecourt, Clyde's brother. Clyde, Russell Means, and Carter Camp had been staying in the home as guests of a friend following the Sun Dance, treaty meeting, and the Rosebud Powwow — and before a September 5 meeting scheduled with White House officials.

AIM supporters were thoroughly confused by the shooting, split in loyalties, and unsure what to do next. Statements by AIM leadership reflected the uncertainty and by September 4, a statement by John Trudell, national co-chairman (with Carter Camp) could say only that "the central leadership committee of AIM, having thoroughly evaluated all aspects of the shooting, has determined that the shooting was conspiratorial in nature." Trudell described the conspiracy as aimed at the destruction of Indian people "through the use of alcohol, drugs, the judicial system, and the federal bureaucracy."

Trudell said that AIM refused to aid this conspiracy, and that it was asking members to return to their home communities to carry on with the business of program development for the liberation of native peoples in their own home communities.

Asserting that AIM would continue to be a vital force in Indian events, Means told newsmen that the shooting "was an isolated incident that the federal government is responsible for." He explained that the shooting proved "how extensive the damage is becoming from harassment we've received since Wounded Knee."

AIM was founded in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area and the Twin Cities was the main center for several years. Clyde Bellecourt was a co-founder. Most of the early AIM activity was in urban areas, but in 1972 attention focused on Oklahoma and Plains state reservations. The shift also has meant new leadership from those areas, and both Carter Camp and John Trudell, the new AIM co-chairmen, are Oklahoma residents.

Two Indian Doctors for Clyde

Bellecourt was treated by Dr. Constance Pinkerman, a Los Angeles, California, anesthesiologist who was on the Rosebud Reservation attending the Indian Fair.

She is Cherokee/Choctaw, and has been an AIM member and organizer of a free medical center for native people in the Los Angeles area. After surgery was completed to remove the bullet (by Dr. Marion Cosand and Dr. Charles Allen), Dr. Pinkerman took over Bellecourt's bedside care, and remained with him almost constantly for three days. She left when his condition was satisfactory.

She had as an associate Leonard Crow Dog, AIM spiritual leader and medicine man. She noted that native medicine practices had validity, and said that Indian medicine was further advanced than Western medicine when Europeans came to America. Indians had, for instance, invented the syringe now in common use by medical practitioners.

Those at the vigil crowded the waiting room and entrance hall of the hospital, and some camped on the front lawn. Members of the organization guarded the doors to screen against what they feared might be a further assassination attempt. Relations with white townspeople seemed antagonistic. Winner has about 3700 white residents and 350 native residents. It is located 50 miles east of the reservation. The surgeon who attended Bellecourt reported he had received irate telephone calls from local citizens.



New Arrests of AIM Leaders

Among those at the vigil were Russell Means and Vern Bellecourt. They were at Clyde's bedside worrying over his critical condition when they were arrested by Tripp County Sheriff James Williamson. He said he had been advised by the state attorney general's office late August 30 that warrants were outstanding on indictments handed down the same week by a Custer County grand jury in connection with a confrontation in Custer last February 6, prior to Wounded Knee.

In the February 6 incident, the Custer County Court House was damaged by fire, and the Chamber of Commerce was burned down. Trouble began when police blocked a group of native people from entering the court house for a meeting with the district attorney about charges filed against a white man charged in the knife slaying of an Oglala, Wesley Bad Heart Bull.

Means was arrested on charges of assault with a dangerous weapon, conspiracy, and participating in a riot. Bellecourt was charged with conspiracy. Dennis Banks was also named in the sealed indictments, but he avoided arrest. Bond was set at \$15,000 for Means, while Bellecourt had a \$5,000 bond. Bellecourt elected to remain in jail for a "spiritual fast" for a time after his bond was available.

Also arrested on indictments were Robert High Eagle and Kenneth Dahl on riot charges, and Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the mother of the slain man, who ironically faces a more serious charge for her protest than did the man charged in the slaying of her son. He was eventually found innocent of second degree manslaughter.

The grand jury dismissed riot and arson charges against 22 other persons for lack of evidence, seemingly satisfied with zeroing in on the AIM leadership.

When Means and the other Custer defendants returned to Custer County Circuit Court to ask that their high bonds be reduced, the grand jury went into session again and came up with additional charges — Means was re-arrested on the spot and charged with assault, riot, and three charges of second degree arson. Bond was set at \$95,000 on the new charges alone.

Also charged in the new grand jury indictments were Mrs. Delila Beane of Pine Ridge, mother of eight children; Bernadine Nichol, 19, Pine Ridge; Lawrence Red Shirt and Reginald Black Elk; Donald Lafferty, Pine Ridge; Ronald Bad Milk and Paul Clifford.



At the beginning of the Custer trials, Judge Joseph Bottum let loose a bombshell ruling that the attorneys from the Wounded Knee Legal committee would not be allowed to defend their clients — a local counsel must be employed, he said, and he proceeded to appoint lawyers who are not known to be especially sympathetic to the native cause. He cautioned that out-of-state attorneys could give advice if they were asked, but that they could not use the local lawyers "as a conveyance." Bottum said that the ruling was necessary to prevent conflicts of interest, and so that the defendants would have "adequate counsel." The appointed lawyers were selected just the day before the trials were to begin. Local bondsmen have refused to sell bail bonds, and some defendants are still in jail. One, Red Shirt, has a \$4,000 bond although the offense with which he is charged is a misdemeanor.

In a stormy court session, Means and Vernon Bellecourt argued that the bonds on all defendants were "excessive" and "punitive", labeling them efforts to "suppress

the membership and leadership of the American Indian Movement." Eventually, the court decided to reduce Means' bail to \$10,000 — still a hefty amount when added to the many previous bonds put up to give Means freedom to pursue his AIM duties, to campaign for the tribal council chairmanship, and to formulate a defense to avoid the 85 years or more of prison which could await him.

The Liberals Speak Out

After Vernon Bellecourt and Russell Means were jailed, South Dakota's senator and former presidential candidate George S. McGovern blasted AIM as "rip-off artists who are exploiting the Indian problem for their own selfish needs."

McGovern — who faces serious problems in his bid for re-election in 1974 — seemed to be speaking to white South Dakota voters in his Huron, S.D., statement, as he called for strong action against what he called AIM's "violent lawbreakers."

In Winner, the Ministerial Alliance and the Chamber of Commerce joined hands in refusing a plea for food for the 80 or so people who had come there for a protective vigil at Clyde Bellecourt's bedside.

The hospital — a Baptist institution — demanded that Bellecourt be removed, even though his physicians said that a move would place his life in serious jeopardy. The hospital administration reportedly backed down after attending physicians threatened to resign from the staff if the move was carried out.

Carter Camp Released — No Evidence

When Carter Camp appeared for trial September 12, Magistrate David Vrooman of Sioux Falls dismissed the charges of assault against him.

"The Government showed that Bellecourt was shot, but was unable to establish to my satisfaction that Camp shot him," the magistrate said.

U.S. Attorney William Clayton said that a witness to the shooting, Janet Thunder of Minneapolis, had declined to identify Camp as the assailant. She invoked the fifth amendment guarantee against self-incrimination. Clayton said that the Government was considering going to a federal grand jury in an attempt to get a new indictment against Camp in the shooting. He kept Camp in the custody of a U.S. marshal, and he was jailed at an undisclosed location.

Clyde Bellecourt had asked his attorney to assist in freeing Camp from "the Government's plot to divide and destroy the AIM organization." He said that he had spent 14 years in training schools and prisons before he became active in the American Indian Movement, and that he would not "put another man in jail if I can help it."

Just prior to Camp's hearing, U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol raised Camp's bond on Wounded Knee charges to \$70,000. Government attorneys had requested the hike alleging that Camp had broken conditions of his previous bond. Nichol also granted a National Council of Churches motion to withdraw a \$25,000 bond it had provided for Camp, assuming that Camp might have violated terms of the bond.

The same day Camp was in court, 3 weeks after the shooting, Clyde Bellecourt was released from the University of Minnesota hospitals where he had been taken when he was well enough to travel. He said he didn't know who had shot him, and that he looked forward to a meeting of AIM leaders to take-up policy matters. AIM, he said, would launch a complete education-type activity. The Movement — and the movement — were far from dead.



Clyde Bellecourt

Dennis Banks was to have been re-arrested at the same time as Means and Vern Bellecourt, but police couldn't find him. On September 27, the FBI announced that a federal fugitive warrant had been issued for Banks — likely his photo is hanging in local post offices about the nation even now. The FBI assumed that Banks left South Dakota to avoid prosecution on state charges stemming from the Custer incident, although he had been in Minneapolis to tape a TV show the day before the indictments were revealed. Banks is already free on \$105,000 bond from other indictments.

(Thanks to the United Press International, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, The Black Panther, Thunder Bird, Harley Sorensen of the Minneapolis Tribune, Lyn Gladstone and the Rapid City Journal, United Press International, John T. Dauner, James P. Sterba of the New York Times News Service, Liberation News Service, and the Associated Press.)



A.I.M. Elections Held At August Convention



Buddy Hatch & Dennis Banks: Long hair, or no school

White Oak, Oklahoma — A quiet American Indian Movement national convention concluded here in early August with a promise of hope — and little indication of the dramatic and violent troubles it would face less than a month later in South Dakota. For the time being, however, AIM was alive and well.

The convention had been scheduled for July 25, but problems arising from the cancellation of the Oglala Sun Dance at Custer, and tardy pre-convention publicity led to a decision to postpone the start until July 30.

Elections on the last day put Carter Camp, 29, into office as national AIM chairman. 36 AIM chapters from 15 states participated in the selection. Camp was unopposed. He replaced Vern Bellecourt, who will remain on the policy-making board of directors. John Trudell, best known for his active role in the 1969 takeover of Alcatraz, was elected national co-chairman. (When Camp was jailed in South Dakota on charges that he had violated his bail bond conditions, Trudell was put at the helm of the organization.) Larry Anderson of Arizona was named treasurer, and Carol Stubbs of San Jose, California, was elected secretary. The AIM board named Dennis Banks executive director.

It had long been known that AIM wanted an Oklahoma convention grounds.

There was strict security; even newsmen were searched for prohibited drugs and beverages. Identification was required and registrations were made.

All in all, local residents had to admit that the convention had come off peacefully and without incident. In fact, so peacefully it went that AIM officials indicated they would like the state convention to be held there — and perhaps the national convention should return there next year.

Although non-Indians were initially permitted to attend the meet, they were expelled after the first few days as they weren't carrying their own weight, or because they were "here for the show", AIM officials said.

The convention's length was shortened to allow a caravan of 150 delegates to get to the Sun Dance — and the strange confused events which would follow those religious doings.



Federal Foods and Federal Arrests

Two pre-convention controversies threatened to upset the peaceful situation. Vern Bellecourt was arrested in Chicago's O'Hare International Airport upon his return from Europe en route to White Oak. The national AIM director was charged in connection with speeches he made at Colorado State University in Fort Collins urging students to take food and medical supplies to Wounded Knee. He was released July 21 on \$10,000 bond after spending a night in jail. He then proceeded to the meet.

Then there was the food fiasco. The Oklahoma Welfare Agency agreed to supply food commodities under an Agriculture Department program for Boy Scout camps, youth groups, and similar events. The food was intended for the 750 or more persons under 18 years of age who were expected to attend the convention.

Clem McSpadden, an Oklahoma Democrat, took to the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives to launch an assault on the food gift. "It is a sad state of affairs when the federal government has cut veterans' pensions, when the consumer is paying higher and higher prices for everything he purchases, and this same benevolent federal government makes a gift of food that the taxpayers of this country paid for with their hard earned tax dollars, to a group of people who readily admit they are being subsidized by dollars which come from outside the United States," he asserted. He said the group had already cost the federal government more than \$8.5 million from the siege at Wounded Knee and the destruction of the BIA in Washington.

However, the commodities were cut off when federal inspectors sent to the convention site were barred from entry. Carter Camp reportedly told the inspectors the food "had been eaten for breakfast." Inspectors in turn complained there were "only six to ten children" at the convention.

The commodity inspectors said that AIM had "misrepresented" the number of children in attendance. They said the United States Government would send AIM a bill for \$700 to cover the cost of the commodities.

However, there were no real food problems. AIM cooks slaughtered a 350-pound sow named John Birch, and bought enough potatoes and things to keep everyone fed. Although it is common for chambers of commerce and city councils to provide grants to visiting convention groups who would add to the local economy, most requests for food from local merchants failed to produce results.

South Dakota AIM Leadership Arrives

A number of well-known AIM members arrived late because of problems in South Dakota. About 150 persons went in a 30-car caravan to the Tulsa Airport to greet Russell Means, Dennis Banks, Leonard Crow Dog, and two AIM attorneys, Ramon Roubideaux and Mark Lane.

Several men believed to be FBI agents milled about, snapping photos. About 35 AIM men stood 25 feet apart on both sides of the corridor through which the incoming leaders passed on their way to the front of the terminal where a brief press conference was held.

The scene alarmed *Daily Oklahoman* staff writer James Johnson, who wrote, "Sullen young men wearing red arm bands, feathers and braids, lined the hallway the length of the terminal, giving the proceedings a militant appearance. Many wore knives openly from their belt, but were unmolested by police who watched the proceedings." [It is not illegal to carry, openly a knife — or a sword, for that matter.]

Banks Outlines New Strategy and Program

Dennis Banks said AIM will move into a massive effort to influence legislation which would seek to repeal the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, and the abolishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He indicated that once Indian peoples were free of governmental controls, they would cease to engage in governmental activity with the U.S.

"The option remains for violent confrontation," Banks said. "But our major effort is for the peaceful repeal of that act. We can't deal with this government any longer with violent demonstrations. We've got to make sure Indian people aren't hurt."

Banks outlined a ten-year plan designed to make native peoples independent of government controls. He said the first phase, lasting two years, would consist of an evaluation of treaties, an inventory of Indian resources, and a review of BIA activity. Then would come a period of legislative activity. By July 4, 1976, AIM would call for the cancellation of key contracts and leases on reservations, free elections for all tribal positions, boycotts of non-Indian businesses, and closing of BIA-operated schools. Alternative schools would be established. The non-Indian business would be "nationalized."

Banks also said AIM attorneys are investigating a possibility of establishing a new reservation on Indian-owned land in western Oklahoma, although he declined to pinpoint the location. Banks said that the concept of reservation life "is a good one, but that has been disfigured by the BIA."

National School Boycott Urged

The AIM convention also called for a national boycott of public schools which forbid native boys from wearing long hair. Buddy Hatch, 11, an Oklahoma Arapaho lad, was chosen to symbolize the struggle.

Banks charged the courts have "refused to recognize Indian values. The courts are hostile to Indian heritage, and this hostility denies the Indian an opportunity to public education."

Buddy Hatch was expelled from school a year ago because his hair violated school regulations. The case was taken to an appeals court which upheld the right of school officials to insist that Indian hair be cut.

Banks said that more Indian-operated schools would be opened to counter "white oriented public education" and to provide educational experience for children of AIM parents who join the boycott.

Buddy's school principal, Wilbur Dow, was not much impressed by the call for a national boycott. He said that if Buddy returned to school, he would have to cut his hair. "We just enforce the school board rules, and don't think much more about it," the educator said.

Viola Hatch indicated that perhaps it had been a good thing that her son had been excluded from school.

"He has gone into the sweat lodge, and he knows a hell of a lot more than these kids who have gone to public schools," she said.

Carter Camp issued an invitation through the press to "all tribal leaders, chiefs, and officials" to come to the meet for a thorough discussion. AIM has often been at odds with "establishment" tribal council officials.

"They are welcome to find out what the AIM plans are and what we are trying to do," Camp said. "We want them to leave with a clear understanding." He said that the invitation "certainly included" AIM critics.

At least some officials accepted. George Poolaw, chairman of the state's Indian Affairs Commission, Hickory Starr, commission director, and Juanita Learned, a field representative, spent some time in the camp in quiet conversations with AIM members.

Philip Deer, a spiritual leader from Okemah, told newsmen that sweat lodges had been made "to clear up the Indians' minds." An area for religious activity was secured away from the press.

Robert Jaulin, director of the University of Paris school of anthropology, attended the meet. His views on the activities of other anthropologists, and his support of native causes, has been welcomed by native peoples. He announced that he is organizing an international art sale to be held in October to raise \$100,000 for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Fund.



The convention expressed concern for the 300 or more Indian inmates in the 1700-man Oklahoma State Prison at McAlester which was torn by riots in July. AIM official Ron Petite was directed to contact state correction officials to arrange for AIM attorneys to interview Indian inmates to determine if any are eligible for legal action which would obtain their release, and to deal with grievances "to prevent future riots". AIM also planned to send spiritual leaders to the prison to hold religious ceremonies for native people who wished to attend.

Another convention topic was legal action to be taken to force museums, archeologists, and universities to return skeletons of native people for reburial.

The AIM convention also agreed to support United Farm Workers in their struggles for better conditions in farm employment.

The convention's length was shortened to allow a caravan of delegates to get to South Dakota for the Oglala Sun Dance. About 150 persons from the AIM meet were able to attend both events.

(Thanks to information from James Johnson of the *Daily Oklahoman*, Dennis A. Eckert of the *Associated Press*, Doug Hicks of the *Tulsa World*, Jerry R. Wilson of the *United Press International*, the *Tulsa Tribune* Washington Bureau, and Pegi Dulin who gathered tapes for NOTES.)

Pine Ridge Tribal Election Primaries This November MEANS vs. Wilson

Rapid City, South Dakota — When tribal election primaries are held on the Pine Ridge Reservation this November, the two principal candidates will be Russell Means and Richard Wilson, the incumbent. The election is widely seen as a test of traditional forms of government for native people against the newer elected governments operating under federal franchise.

Means, an American Indian Movement leader who is from Porcupine, a reservation community, is running on a platform of turning the tribal government over to the traditional Oglala forum of community representatives, while Wilson is known for his strict law and order anti-AIM stance.

Already there are suggestions that outside independent auditors should monitor the election, since it is known it would be a serious embarrassment for the U.S. if Means should win. Government officials have maintained that AIM has little support on the reservation, and that the Oglalas support the present form of elected councilmen sitting for two-year terms.

An order of the Wilson-controlled tribal court has forbid Means from entering the reservation, and there has been a campaign of harassment toward AIM supporters.

"If I am elected," Means has declared, "there will be an end to the tribal presidency, an end to the tribal constitution and tribal council, an end to the BIA and Indian Reorganization Act. Each community will govern itself and a federation of communities will comprise the sovereign government. Oglala people will govern themselves according to our treaty."

Also opposing Wilson in the November primary are eight other candidates, including three of Wilson's predecessors in the presidency. The two top candidates in the primary will face a runoff election in January.

A poll taken by *Crazy Horse News* was taken for its August 24 publication. About 500 persons "cross-sectioned across the reservation", before Means announced his candidacy. Only 1% of those asked said they would support Wilson again, with another 1% undecided. It gave Gerald One Feather, a pro-traditional former council president, the lead with 33% of the persons polled. David Long, a leader in the AIM movement on the reservation and suspended by Wilson from his post as vice-president of the tribal council, still was a top choice for the next vice-president with 92% of those polled.

A similar race is on at Rosebud Reservation next to Pine Ridge. In primaries held in late August, Webster Two Hawk, the current president and a vocal opponent of AIM, was topped by Bob Burnette, who often has supported AIM activities. Burnett got 602 votes to Two Hawk's 409. Final elections will be held in October. The tribe also voted in favor of permitting 18-year-olds to vote in the tribal elections.

EARLY MORNING FEDERAL RAID ON UNITY ENCAMPMENT NETS A .22 RIFLE

Deer Springs, Navajo Nation — FBI agents and Navajo BIA police conducted an early-morning raid on the Red Arrow Unity Camp here September 26. The home of the Foster family, on whose land the encampment was held, was ransacked. Drawers were rifled and furniture overturned, although the police said their warrant was to locate three fugitives.

Witnesses say the police were armed with M-16 rifles and supported by helicopters. Only a .22 hunting rifle was found — and confiscated — and there were no signs of the "fugitives". The Fosters said that religious articles were desecrated during the raid.

The encampment had some AIM participation. It was a peaceful event, described as "spiritual and traditional gathering to bring people together for unity." Ronald Slinkey, Arizona's AIM coordinator, and Howard Nez, Ft. Defiance chapter president, were among the organizers.

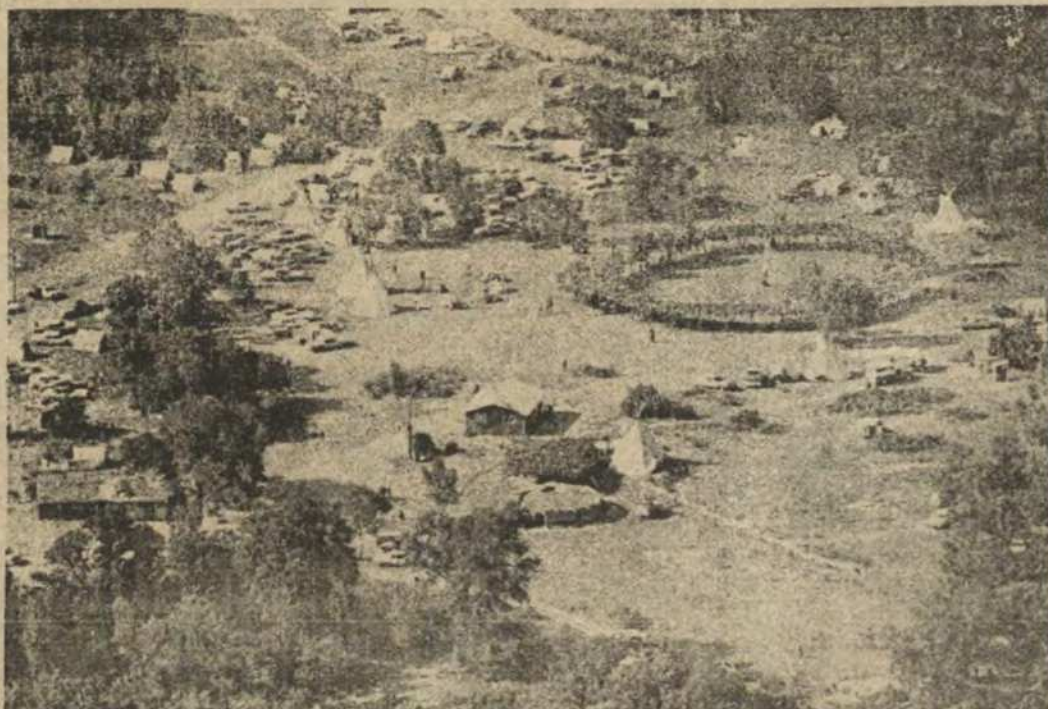
INDEPENDENCE DAY BLAZE DESTROYS WOUNDED KNEE CHURCH JULY 3

Wounded Knee, Oglala Nation — The white, high-spired Roman Catholic church that became a symbol of the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee burned to the ground late at night July 3. The cause is unknown, although arson was suspected. Participants in the occupation had hoped that the bullet-ridden structure would stand as a monument, showing the military force they had faced.

The church stood on a hill overlooking the hamlet of Wounded Knee, just a few yards from the mass grave of the victims of the 1890 massacre. It was used as sleeping quarters and mess hall by Oglalas during the occupation of the village during Phase I of the struggle of the Oglala Nation to regain its sovereignty.

A priest on the reservation said it appeared the church had been broken into before the fire. But this was not unusual, he said — break-ins occurred several times each week.

SUN DANCE AT ROSEBUD REVIVED AFTER SIXTY EIGHT YEARS



The Sacred Hoop Mending . . . An Aerial Photo Before the Dance Began

Crow Dog's Paradise, Rosebud Reservation — All the notices for the Sun Dance had said it would be at Crazy Horse Monument in western South Dakota. But rising hysteria by white residents, police officers, and state officials caused it to be cancelled — and then shifted here.

Oglala officials claim that the FBI deliberately planted rumors that truckloads of arms were at the site, and townspeople were not comforted by the side of the increasing tide of federal men. It was all over almost as suddenly as it had been announced — the Governor of South Dakota, Richard Kneip, simply announced that the sacred religious ceremony had been cancelled and that was that.

School buses commandeered by federal men and state troopers came to the site accompanied by armed officers and loaded everyone on.

It was Fools Crow who asked Ziolkowski to provide a site for the Sun Dance on the approximately 800 acres of ground that lies off Crazy Horse Mountain to the west. "How could I say no?" the mountain carver asked. "Here I am, building a monument to the North American Indian. And here, for the first time, they ask me to do something, I say no? I'd be dishonest."

But Ziolkowski even then knew there would be trouble from those he habitually describes as "the white trash in Custer." And he was not happy to learn that there would be many AIM members participating in the Sun Dance, and that a meeting would be held afterwards to discuss the 1868 treaty confirming native title to the Black Hills.

Charles and Jane Nauman live near Custer, and are members of the Crazy Horse Memorial Commission. Mrs. Nauman said that whites in Custer wanted to go after the Indians because they were frustrated in their desire for revenge from last February's confrontation and fires.

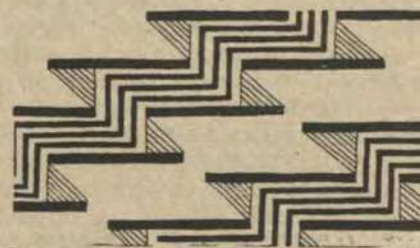
Mr. Nauman thought it would be the Indians who would start the trouble. "I'm not sure they [AIM] have given up on the idea of burning Custer. I think they're disappointed that they didn't do a better job."



And so, for the first time since 1905, the Sun Dance was held at the Rosebud Reservation, beginning at sunrise on August 5. The tribal council had voted overwhelmingly to allow the ceremonies — in sharp contrast to Richard Wilson at Pine Ridge who had not only banned the traditional sacred ceremony, but had gone ahead with his own "sun dance" and had lost a reported \$5,000 on the venture.

In spite of attempts by local press coverage to turn the ceremonies into an "AIM rally" or characterizing the event as "militants using the religious festival to recruit members", a new spirit, dignity, and meaning were returned to the Sun Dance after years of it being a mockery, tourist-carnival attraction.

Filming, photographing, taping, alcohol, drugs, and fire-arms were successfully prohibited, thanks to a vigilant tight security. Non-native people were turned away with very few exceptions, giving the participants a feeling of freedom and confidence.



Immediately following the four days of ceremonies, a series of discussions began about the impending treaty talks to be held with the United States. Although the Teton Sioux were taking the matter seriously, Bradley Patterson of the White House staff was telling the press it would be "sort of a listening session."

After prayers by Oglala leader Frank Fools Crow, attorney Ramon Roubideaux said that the men in the White House are not responsive to native needs, and do not recognize the need for a treaty commission. He suggested that tremendous pressure and unified activity would be needed. He said that perhaps the presence of a few thousand Teton Sioux at Pierre, the meeting site suggested by presidential aide Leonard Garment, might force the government to live up to its agreements. The treaty commission, to be effective, must be formed by a Congressional act or Presidential dictate.

Russell Means noted that two people had died at Wounded Knee for this treaty meeting. He asked the elders to do a thorough job so that the young people could learn from watching. He said the meetings held the future of the Lakota people, as well as every native person under treaty rights. "The Elders can show us the way with their wisdom to deal with the problem without the use of M-16s," he said.

Carter Camp said the Oklahoma Indians would be watching the Lakota for direction. "Oklahoma Indians were forced from their lands," the new AIM chairman said. "You are fighting, the treaty fight not just for yourselves, but for all of us."

Leonard Garment, special counsel to U.S. President Nixon, wants to have a short one-day session. He said each of the nine Teton bands should send three chiefs or headmen to the talks. The Tetons, however, are seeking a three-day meeting, with no limit on the number of delegates attending on either side.

Bradley Patterson said the meeting would be "sort of a listening session" — hardly a description for a serious negotiation on treaties between sovereigns.



"When in the course of human events"

— AN INTERVIEW WITH CARTER CAMP —

(This article is a partial transcription of an interview with Carter Camp before his election as chairman of the American Indian Movement, and before he was jailed in South Dakota. He is of the Ponca Nation, Oklahoma.)

(With the American Revolution Bicentennial celebrations gearing up for 1976, discussions of native people about what revolution they must have to gain their independence "in the course of human events", will become more and more relevant.)

(We are grateful to Mountain Wolf Woman for her help in preparation of this interview.)

The American Indian Movement is not a revolutionary organization. I talk revolution — but AIM has never been revolutionary. Now it is beginning to be because a lot of Indian People have been looking for an organization which would give them an opportunity to throw off the bonds which hold them down so badly.

On the American Indian Movement

The American Indian Movement is not a structural organization, but a movement of a people concerned with the facts of Indian life in Indian country. AIM realized that the people needed something more than just another Indian organization which got money and then did nothing to change the basic facts of their lives.

[Eventually, the leaders of AIM came to Crow Dog.] Crow Dog told them if they wanted to be a true Indian organization, they had to have the involvement of the medicine people and holy men. And that was when the American Indian Movement was born.

We think that the American Indian Movement is not only an advocate for the Indian people, but is the spiritual rebirth of our nation. It carries the spirituality of our ancient people, and the older people now with us. Crow Dog gave us spiritual direction, and caused us to look to our own tribes for additional spiritual direction.

"The government's aim in Indian relations is to have American Indians become homogenized in American society and to have no identity of our own. That is our greatest danger."

AIM sees itself as a new Warrior Society for Indian people. For white people, a warrior is like the Army of the United States — a guy who goes out there and fights and kills for his people. But a Warrior Society to Indian people means the men — men and women, really — of the nation who have dedicated everything they have to their people. They believe a warrior should be the first to go hungry, and the last one to eat. He is always ready to defend his family, to hold off an enemy, to sacrifice himself for the good of his people.

That is what we try, idealistically, to be. I'm not saying we're all completely selfless or any kind of saint. But we try from the spiritual direction of our holy men to get ourselves to the point that we do not have the avarice and greed that is so much a part of the Anglo society in the United States.

On the Importance of Wounded Knee

The American Indian Revolution is pointed to showing persons that they can struggle and fight against the United States Government and they can win. That's why it's important that the leadership of the American Indian Movement not be sent to prison. Not that any of us are vital at all to the movement — none of us are important personally — but we are important now as symbolic of the resistance to the American Government.

Native People: Natural Revolutionaries

It is necessary for people who aspire to leadership to have set in their mind what they want to do for their people. In that respect, I try to make myself knowledgeable about what is happening in other parts of the world and this country. But to revolutionize our people it is not necessary that they have a deep background in revolutionary theory. The whole of our lives is spent in resistance — we are already revolutionaries, passive revolutionaries perhaps.

We have never participated in America. Our people have never joined America. Our people have never gone out to vote, because there is nothing to vote for. You shouldn't vote for the next guy who is going to rip off your people, no matter what kind of lies he tells you. The Indian people have never really accepted the United States Government's authority over their lives and their land.

What we have to do is not steep them in revolutionary theory, but just give them the confidence and pride in themselves that they can stand up to the United States Government. All we have to do is show them and help them realize that this government can be thwarted in its efforts to wipe out our race. Our people already are in the mood — they just have to be shown that it is a

possibility, that the people are there to lead and help them, and there are enough people to stand together and succeed.

On Black People in Native Causes

Black people might be willing to join with us when they forget about an economic struggle, and begin to struggle for control of land. When they forget about being equal, and don't even care whether they can get into the 21 Restaurant in New York City, then they will be ready to join the revolution of native peoples.

Black people were tribal people — I think they still have that memory of being tribal people. But Black people seem to have lost that. Black people lost their tribal ways in that they were so totally ripped off. Everything was taken from them, even their babies. So they had to take some way, and they took the way of poor white people, and that had a helluva lot to do with their acceptance of their oppression. Poor white people have accepted that they had superiors, for thousands of years. But tribal people have pride, and they don't accept domination so well.

On Coalitions

It has now become a thought that the United States Government has to be changed in order for us to succeed. We feel we have to form some kind of amalgamation with other groups — they have to be successful for us to be successful, and vice versa. It has to be a united and joint effort. So far, in bringing about this type of coalition, this hasn't worked.

If it would become a reality — it has to become a reality — it wouldn't have to be an amalgamation of people fighting together, but rather people fighting for the same cause, to the same end. For instance, it might not be possible for a large number of black people and a large number of Indian people to be together at this particular point in time without a conflict. But we can still maintain our own independence and sovereignty and help each other, and have a coalition amongst the leadership, setting goals.

Eventually, without the hateful influence of the United States Government, our people could become close.

On America's Education of Indians

The main thing that people don't understand about BIA schools, is that before 1970, they were a tremendously brutalizing thing for our people. It was the government's main way to change Indian people into brown white people. They say in order for our people to survive they have to learn white man's ways and live like a white man. Well, those schools accomplished that. They were expert brainwashing institutions. They first cut your hair off — just like they do in the Marines — to make you lose your identity. Then they put you in a completely regimented, military, structured way of life. And then they made you quit dressing in the way you dress at home. You could not wear things that look good to us, like braids and feathers. Then they attacked our language. These little kids had no protection from this monster that has them jailed.

So we have our lost generation of Indian people — the guys who work for the BIA and try to be as white as they can, as good Christians as they can, the ones like Dickie Wilson who use whiteman's weapons to steal from their own people.

The Revolution — and Indian People

The way that I see the American Indian Movement and the Indian revolution in general tying in with the total revolution is that although small in numbers, the Indian people have the ability to give the revolution its soul, its guidance, in the way the final outcome relates to the survival of mankind. That's where the American Indian people will have their input into the final government.

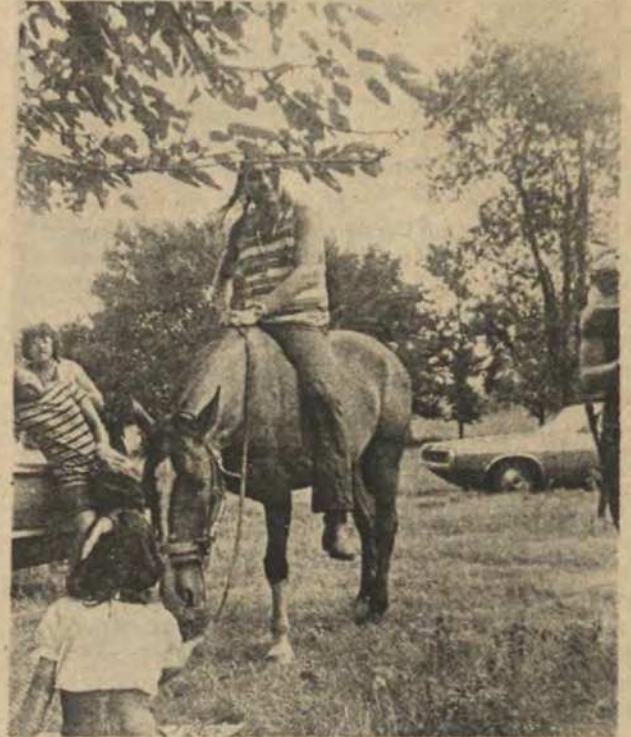
My thought was tying in Indian people, and Indian revolutionary people in particular, into the whole movement of revolutionary people in the world and the United States, so that when the revolution is accomplished, Indian people will not be judged by their numbers in terms of the amount of input they have in the new government or the new structure of society. Judging by numbers, of course, Indian people would be relegated to such a minor role that the new government will continue on the same way that both Russia and the United States have, with their primary focus on destruction and the raping of the mother earth. I think that Indian people and Indian people in the revolution could guide the new social structure away from that.

Indian people know how to fight and take care of their people at the same time. Indian warriors aren't paid and fed, clothed, and housed. Indian warriors know they have to be husband, father, and a man of their tribe — and a warrior. In fact, being a warrior has to be secondary. They will begin to teach revolutionary people who come to them that this is a big part of the total revolution.

When people learn that, they can move their whole life away from the city and that social structure they are trying to destroy. They can live with the land and fight from there. I think that Black people are the farthest away from that of all people in the United States.

Indian people like our medicine men will be leaders in the revolution because they will give the revolution substance and guidance, that it needs to have to win.

All we have is a very close relationship to our mother earth. We have a strong and ancient religion which has much power. We have that not only to ourselves and for ourselves, but we have that to offer to mankind. Indian religion says that everything has the right to live where it was created. Indian religion doesn't try to take from anyone — it just gives you the strength and power to be part of a total universe. It believes in the sacredness of the circle where everyone has a place.



Carter Camp at the 1973 AIM Convention

We believe that when we have a brother, he is more than that — he is part of me. We are part of the earth, part of the same thing. If we can realize that, no matter what culture you used to be from, if you accept people as all being part of you, then you can extend that to everything. You learn that even the rocks have a sacred power which they can impart to you. Water is life, and animals and insects and clouds and stars are not to be disturbed. Then you can live in peace with yourself, your fellow man, and with the universe.

Our people have changed as things have come into our lives. But we never lost sight or focus on one thing — we don't have to take away from mother earth.

On Indian "Poverty" & Economics

Our problems are only so far as they are related to the white economic system. Once we are divorced from that, we won't have to worry about "upgrading our standard of living." We can live by what would be considered a poor standard of life by white standards, and still have a good life and be happy.

That is one of the differences between us and the struggles of other minority groups. We are not concerned with having a \$10,000 median income for our people — we are concerned with our people being free and living the way they want to live.

The government's main aim in Indian relations is to have American Indians become homogenized in American society, and not to have any identity of their own. That is our greatest danger. They kill off the dissident ones, what they used to call hostile and now call militant. They get rid of them physically, and they get rid of the rest of our people by making them brown white people.

We're not looking to a 9-to-5 job, a white collar job, for all our Indian people. We're not looking for upward mobility in the social structure of the United States. We don't need that, we don't want that, and we don't want anything to do with that. We're looking for our sovereignty, our ability to govern ourselves, and for every person to live as a free person, to live the way they want to live.

We don't need a lot of money. We don't need social status. We have to have freedom. We have to have the ability to govern our own land areas and our own people. Our government has to be set up as an Indian government, and left alone by the white government so we can live in the way we want to live.

America has made us a class of paupers by making us dependent upon its economic system.



Harassment Of AIM Supporters Continues As Massive Legal Battles Loom

Rapid City, South Dakota

One of the most massive and hectic legal battles of this century continues to shape up in South Dakota.

On one side is the United States Government, acting in the name of the People of America. It is alleging that a number of crimes were committed by persons who occupied Wounded Knee.

On the other side are the defendants, who are represented by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, a group of about 25 lawyers, researchers, secretaries and assistants who will seek to show that the occupation was "a legally defensible act."

The committee is headed at present by Mark Lane, a New York attorney and author of *Rush to Judgment*, a controversial book that challenged the Warren Commission findings on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The committee is dealing with the whole sequence of events leading to — and from — Wounded Knee, including incidents at Scottsbluff, Nebraska; Custer, South Dakota, and Rapid City, South Dakota.

The group was formed in mid-March. Included were attorney Ramon Roubideaux, Rapid City; Ken Tilsen of St. Paul, Minnesota; and Beverly Axelrod of San Francisco, California, and Lane. All are volunteers, working without pay.

Lawyers from all over the country are responding to the call to defend the 445 persons arrested in the occupation or activity related to it — as well as to commence a legal offensive aimed at correcting long-standing defects in Oglala/U.S. relationships.

South Dakota, in effect, has become a mass legal en-campment. Defense plans include using some of the criminal trials as a long-sought forum for presenting the case for Oglala sovereignty and for treaty enforcement. Some defendants will argue that under treaty, ratified by the U.S. Senate into the American lawbooks, the U.S. is excluded from jurisdiction in prosecuting for the occupation. Lane promised that the trials will be highly political, but conducted "within the rules of evidence."

One offensive suit will seek dissolution of the infamous "goon squad", a special police force maintained by the tribal council utilizing U.S. funds. Another suit will attack the validity of tribal ordinances that prohibit entry on the reservation by AIM members and their attorneys.

The trials will cost the United States tremendous sums of money. Extra federal judges and U.S. attorneys will be brought in from other districts. The vast resources of the Justice Department operation stands in marked contrast to the safety-pin and baling-wire operation which the Wounded Knee defendants must use. It must operate out of a house in Rapid City, raise its own funds, and solicit volunteer legal staff.

Russell Means, Dennis Banks, Carter Camp, Stanley Holder, Pedro Bissonette, Leonard Crow Dog and Clyde Bellecourt are charged separately in an eleven-count conspiracy indictment with assault, arson, burglary, civil disorder and larceny. Trials could last well over two months, and could require as many as 200 witnesses.

Another hundred defendants are charged with such felonies as interfering with a federal officer in the performance of his official duties during a civil dis-

order, or crossing-state lines to participate in a riot, or violating the Major Crimes Act of 1885.

The committee is also handling about 250 tribal court charges and numerous state criminal charges, including some relating to activity in Custer and Rapid City.

At Pine Ridge: Totalitarian Government

For many Oglalas at Pine Ridge, the situation was worse than before Wounded Knee. AIM supporters and those who aided the occupation were harassed and at least one man has died in a long series of violent incidents that began the day the occupation ended when Wounded Knee homes were ransacked by BIA police and tribal council "goon squad".

Nine-year-old Mary Ann Little Bear of Wounded Knee was shot in the eye as she and her father drove past a group of council supporters. Her father sped away to summon assistance from the BIA police, but although he could point out the house the shots came from, there was no investigation.

The shots are alleged to have come from the home of Francis Randall while John Hussman, Woody Richards, and Randall were present. All three men were active in the tribal council roadblocks and in counter-insurgency activity against the Wounded Knee occupation.

When Justice Department, BIA police, and FBI refused to assist in the matter, a group of AIM men posted guard in Wounded Knee. Within minutes, a group of 14 law enforcement officers, including federal agents, were on the scene to arrest five persons charging them with inciting a riot. Incredibly, Del Eastman, chief of the BIA police force, announced that the arrested men were being investigated for the shooting of the girl whose family they had come to protect.

Then, when the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee sent in a team to take statements regarding the shooting and issued press statements regarding their findings, a contingent of federal police surrounded the home where the lawyers were working and ordered "all AIM lawyers and sympathizers" off the reservation at gunpoint. Another violent incident was almost touched off when residents from Manderson, Porcupine and Wounded Knee came to the scene to stand between the police and the legal team to prevent the eviction.

Mark Lane and photographer Carolyn Mugar allege they were threatened at rifle point by Emil Richards, who works for tribal council chairman Dick Wilson. Richards, they say, threatened to kill them if they kept on.

The Legal Defense/Offense Committee issued a statement saying that the removal of the legal investigation team "is a guarantee that all future crimes and violence by the tribal government goon squad will go undetected — the FBI, BIA police, and the Justice Department have yet to make one statement, or move, to curb the nightly attacks."

Recently, Clarence and Vernal Cross, two supporters of the Wounded Knee takeover, were shot by persons recognized as members of Wilson's goon squad and employees of the tribal government law enforcement group. The two men and a friend were sleeping in a car on the side of a road when ambushed. Clarence died after spending five weeks in the hospital, and Vernal was severely injured.

"People who disagree with the Wilson government became automatic targets of terrorist attacks; they continue to be threatened, assaulted, raped, shot, and killed," a spokeswoman for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee said. "And the violence goes unheeded by the law enforcement authorities who work in collusion with the BIA, the FBI, and the Department of Justice to keep the Wilson government in power."

Other incidents:

— on August 10, a woman was gang-raped and burned with a cigarette by five men in Batesland, one of whom she recognized as a goon squad member.

— on May 12, Von Bear Eagle witnessed the beating of his step-brother in Rushville, Nebraska, by three known members of the Wilson goon squad.

— on May 19, Frank Fools Crow, traditional Oglala leader, and eight others were followed from Fools Crow's home in Kyle by three men. As Fools Crow stopped the car to get some gas, the three men drove up and smashed into his car.

— Severt Young Bear's home has been shot at night after night. Recently, his home was ransacked while he was away.

— Leo White Hawk and his family, AIM supporters living in cluster housing in Manderson, have been forced to band together in defense against unprovoked attacks. Windows have been broken. Woodrow and Ann Respects Nothing have been physically beaten.

— On July 29 at Manderson, two men were beaten and a pregnant woman was maced by BIA police. Events began when Curtis Ghost was struck with a club by off-duty BIA policeman Jonathan Twist when Ghost got on a horse he thought belonged to a friend. Ghost took the club away from Twist, much to the amusement of onlookers who began clapping and singing the AIM song. Two BIA policemen arrived and threw Ghost into their car, and for no apparent reason beat on

Leo White Hawk. As onlookers came to his assistance, one, Cathy Eagle Hawk, eight months pregnant, was maced in the face by twist.

Russell Means noted angrily that the incidents of violence and widespread repression at Pine Ridge had not drawn much attention of the press — but that the shooting of Bellecourt indicating a split in AIM leadership had been given vast coverage. "If the public is so concerned about violence and AIM," he said, "they can start by demanding to know the facts in the unprovoked shooting of Mary Little Bear and the murder of Clarence Cross by federal forces in Pine Ridge."

South Dakota: Frontier Mentality Still

An incident in Custer on August 15 indicates the type of situation which drew AIM there initially, and the disparity in law enforcement when it is white folk who are the offenders.

Gerald Millard, 20, and Alan Duran, 18, were beaten viciously by former deputy sheriff Clayton Mostiller in broad daylight. Mostiller attacked the pair with a bull-whip for no apparent reason and after a savage beating, whipped Millard around the neck and dragged him 40 feet with his horse. The act was witnessed by Mostiller's employer, Ray Miller, of T&R Rides Camp.

Stunned, shocked, and beaten, the two men walked into town for assistance and were promptly arrested for public intoxication and held without bond.



When the incident came to the attention of attorney Mark Lane of the Wounded Knee Legal Committee, and AIM leader Russell Means, they went to Custer to talk with local officials. After three hours of argument, states attorney Hobart Gates reluctantly agreed to file formal felony complaints against the former lawman and his employer.

But there will be no trial for either Mosteller or Miller — when the Custer Grand Jury met, it declined to indict them and all charges were dismissed.

South Dakota's attorney general, Kermit Sande, came to Custer August 2 to assure the citizens of the town that a lawbreaker "will be treated as a common criminal" and that he repudiated "the tactics of the militants and their antics betray the thousands of concerned people, young and old, who have worked for justice for the Indian. They betray thousands of concerned people who are working for a better racial climate for all Americans."

Sande did not specify what the State of South Dakota, long notorious for being to Indians what Mississippi is to Blacks, had been doing to create "a better racial climate."

The Motion to Consolidate

While some of the legal people were involved with the FBI, lawyers Ken Tilsen and Luke McKissack were in Sioux Falls arguing a motion to consolidate the cases of the seven major conspiracy defendants. Since all the defendants could have been named in the same indictment, were alleged to have participated in the same actions, and the case would consist of substantially the same evidence, the attorneys told chief district judge Fred Nichol that their cases should be heard together. Otherwise, the defense will have to bring the same witnesses together for seven different trials.

Nichols did agree that Dennis Banks and Russell Means could have their trials consolidated, but ordered the others to be heard separately.



A minor victory was gained in St. Paul when U.S. Circuit Judge Gerald Heaney ruled that the cases of the Wounded Knee seven leaders should be heard by Judge Nichol.

"The orderly administration of justice requires that the cases of Russell Means, Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, Carter Camp, Pedro Bissonette, Stanley Holder, and Leonard Crow Dog should be under the direction of one judge," Heaney ruled. Since Judge Andrew Bogue of Rapid City had already disqualified himself on two of the cases, that left Judge Nichol for the assignment. Heaney refused, however, to order Judge Nichol to hear the cases together.

Trials are expected to begin in November.

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee continues to need lawyers, and skilled legal paraprofessionals. They also badly need additional electric typewriters — or funds to buy them. Funds for office expenses, telephone, rent, court costs, and travel are also needed. Write:
Wounded Knee Legal Committee
Box 147
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701
(605) 348-3326



FBI Agent is Fugitive From Rapid City Justice

Attorneys representing the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee made citizen's arrests of four Federal Bureau of Investigation agents (FBI) for alleged assaults upon lawyers and legal workers at a Rapid City motel August 7.

One of the things handicapping the committee in preparing its defense is the government itself. Several times now, the committee has gone into court trying to get a court order asking that FBI agents be prohibited from harassing committee workers. One such hearing was held September 2 in Deadwood, South Dakota before U.S. District Judge Andrew W. Bogue.

Mark Lane of New York and Luke McKissack of Los Angeles said two of the agents are accused of attacking a private investigator while conducting an official inquiry at the motel. The attorneys said the agents pushed the investigator, Luke Headley of Los Angeles, out the motel door.

"The next assault took place as an FBI agent smashed a camera into the face of Anthony Muller, a Colorado attorney," Lane said.

The lawyers called the Rapid City Police Department and delivered the agents into their custody where statements were taken prior to issuing formal complaints.

"While the agents were being held at the Rapid City police station," Lane said, "another agent of the FBI knocked Carolyn Mugar, a legal worker, down the steps of the police station and uttered a series of obscenities." Ms. Mugar then effected a citizen's arrest on that agent. All the agents refused to identify themselves.



One of the accusations is that the FBI has had phone taps and electronic surveillance of the attorneys. The FBI has allowed that it has purchased such equipment in Rapid City from the Radio Shack — including 210 tape-recording cassettes, toggle switches, coaxial cable, antennae, earphones, and other gear — but that it was not being used for surveillance.

(In the Vietnam Veterans Against the War trials in Gainesville, Florida, Carl Ekblad and Robert Romann, two FBI agents, were discovered in a closet-size telephone connection room adjoining the office set aside for defense use in the Gainesville Eight case. They had in their possession a suitcase full of bugging equipment.)

A score of FBI agents had moved into the building next door to the office used by the legal team, preparing the defense against those arrested during the Wounded Knee occupation. There had been some touchy situations, such as the time when the agents in government vehicles surrounded the legal office during evening hours.

Because of the increased surveillance of the Wounded Knee offices, committee investigators began recording license numbers of government cars involved in the stakeouts. On the weekend of August 3, two committee members, Jeanne Davies and Fritz Feiten, were arrested by the FBI for "tampering" as they recorded the license number of an FBI car. Charges against Davies were dropped after she spent a weekend in jail, but the FBI claims Feiten was pulling on the handle of the car door.

After the incident, Rapid City police chief Roger Theunissen confirmed that a warrant had been issued for special agent Morris Pierson, but that he was still at large.

In the hearing, Philip Enlow, administrative assistant in charge of FBI agents in the Dakotas-Minnesota-Wyoming district, testified that he had transferred agent Morris Pierson to San Francisco on August 9, the same day a warrant was issued for Pierson's arrest on a charge he had pushed a volunteer legal worker from the stairs in the Rapid City jail.

Joseph Trimbach, head of the FBI's Minneapolis office, said in a public address recently that the charge that FBI agents would "harass militant Indians or their representatives . . . is absurd on its face." He denied reports that citizen's arrests of four FBI agents had been made

by Wounded Knee Legal committee members in Rapid City, saying that they were "trumped-up charges."

The FBI: Does It Always Get Their Indian?

Evidence given to the Watergate investigation in the U.S. Senate on June 25th indicates that FBI-gathered information on Indian activity is routed in regular intelligence reports to President Richard Nixon's top man in Indian Affairs, Leonard Garment. John W. Dean III, who had been on Nixon's staff, told the Senate committee that early in 1971, an Interagency Evaluation Committee (IEC) was created to handle all domestic intelligence information, including that on "Indian uprisings."

Dean said the White House was "continually seeking intelligence information about demonstration leaders and their supporters that would either discredit them personally or indicate that the demonstration was in fact sponsored by some foreign enemy."

Indian activists have plagued the Nixon administration from its first year in office onward. At least 37 separate assaults on BIA or BIA-administered facilities took place between 1969 and the summer of 1973, not counting at least 30 militant actions aimed at other targets.

Beginning in 1971, there was surveillance and investigations of even moderate Indian leaders and their staffs, Indians holding positions in the federal government, and Indian community leaders. FBI agents and informers tracked leaders and groups moving west to east along the Trail of Broken Treaties, and a network of Indian and non-Indian informers supplied intelligence information to federal agents during and after the the November BIA takeover in the capital and the occupation of Wounded Knee.

Native people active in civil rights matters often find that they are the objects of FBI investigations, rather than complainants. Last April, for instance, a group of 50 native people who live in Maryland, led by Avery Lewis of the Pima Nation, went to Annapolis to sit in the Senate gallery in what they described as a "peaceful visit for recognition."

The group was quiet and low key — the few signs they waved asked only for "equal rights for Indians." They stayed for about 90 minutes in the gallery, and distributed a press release that invited the legislators "in a very civil manner to face up to the problem of [self-determination] for the 8,000 native people now living in Maryland so that we can avoid another Wounded Knee."

The group left after it was recognized by the president of the state senate, William S. James.

"It was like a ladies' sewing circle," said Senator Alfred Lipin, who had invited the group.

But the next day, it became clear that the FBI was looking into the visit. First, Senator Lipin was summoned by state troopers from a committee meeting and was told "federal people" wanted a copy of the press release. Then investigators called on Avery Lewis, and other FBI men came to the American Indian Study Center, a Baltimore community action agency program. Agents took down the names of everyone who worked at the agency. Protests to the FBI were met with the reply that the FBI was "just checking."

The influential *Baltimore Sun* editorialized irately that the "Indians deserve a public apology". It noted that dozens upon dozens of Maryland groups go to Annapolis during a legislative session to make their presence felt on current issues. The FBI's sniffing, it said, "is governmental snooping and it has a chilling effect."

The Fox is Guarding the Hen House

In a big fanfare of publicity August 13, the Justice Department announced formation of a new office "designed to protect civil rights of American Indians." Assistant attorney general J. Stanley Pottinger said the new office will coordinate most matters relating to Indians, but previously handled in other areas of the department. When it receives complaints, it will refer them to the FBI for investigation and report, Pottinger said.

That means that the agency and investigators which is pushing criminal action against the people at Wounded Knee's occupation — people who were complaining then about violation of their civil rights — will be the agency and investigators looking into those same violations. "The problems are complex," Carl Stoiber, the new director of the Office of Indian Rights says with obvious understatement. Stoiber was involved with the negotiations at Wounded Knee, acting for the U.S.

Pottinger insisted that formation of the new office was not an outgrowth of Wounded Knee. But, he said, "Wounded Knee certainly contributed to my understanding of the issues."



Another public relations campaign to convince Indians that they have strong civil rights — without the accompanying mechanism to insure they do exist — comes from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Now native people can hear it all on cassette tape recordings in five tribal languages and English too. The tape covers such topics as freedom of speech, the right to vote and hold office, and remedies for civil rights violations.

U.S. Marshals, the first line of offense for the U.S. at the Wounded Knee occupation and other "Indian uprisings" now has its first Indian in the ranks. He is Larry F. Smith, a 32-year-old Navajo with a university degree in police science.

Smith's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Lorenzo Smith, both work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Flagstaff, Arizona.



The Justice Department has sent a bill to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for its activities at Wounded Knee, a move that has caused Indian wits to enquire if the White House is going to have to pay the shot for the Watergate inquiry. The bill is for \$3,528,000, which will have to come out of the ordinary operating budget of the BIA. The Justice Department, which went all-out in free-spending, included costs of marshals, FBI, Border Patrol, helicopters, planes, negotiators, equipment, travel, motels, and similar items.

Marvin Franklin told the House Appropriations Committee in April that "Indian people will have to learn that they have to pay for blind leadership, and the best way to learn that is to have to pay for it."

The Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards formally denounced the assessment, saying that Indian people had to pay daily for "blind leadership" of the U.S. and its agents.

The CICSB said that this "blatant act of economic reprisal against all Indian people" was like asking the individuals in the Executive Office of the President to pay for the costs of Watergate."

By contrast with the massive "law and order" expense, the BIA itself spent only \$15,600 on aid to displaced families, \$29,800 for repair of the community building and Head Start center; \$7,000 for general clean-up of the area; \$148,000 for repair or replacement of homes; \$44,000 for range restoration, and \$130,000 for repair of roads and bridges.

(Thanks to *Race Relations Reporter*, *American Indian Press Association*, and the *CICSB Newsletter* for this information.)

LAST MAN ARRESTED AT WOUNDED KNEE STILL IN JAIL IN RAPID CITY; HELP URGED

Rapid City, South Dakota — The last person arrested for participation in the Wounded Knee occupation is still being held in jail here, although his bond of \$3500 has been met.

He is Warfield Milo Goings, and he has been imprisoned since last July 8. Following his bond hearing, he was served with a warrant for parole violation, although he has served his full sentence. He is now being held with no bond on that charge.

Goings, who sustained gunfire wounds during the occupation, had been released from the Sandstone, Minnesota, correctional institution, last December 8.

While he was in that institution, he had taken prison officials to court when they tried to cut his hair, citing that he wore his hair long because of religious conviction. The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed his case, however, when he was released from prison before the court heard the case. "The [prison] herein exercises no further custody or control over him," the court stated. An affidavit was attached saying he had served the maximum time.

Further information is available from WKLD, attn: Madonna Gilbert, Box 147, Rapid City, S.D. Her telephone number is (605) 348-3326. Letters demanding Goings release and/or full hearings on the matter should be directed to the address below. Action by readers of AKWESASNE NOTES in similar situations in the past has been successful.

Letters regarding this subject should be sent to:
Steven Johnston, Executive Director
U.S. Board of Parole
101 Indiana NW
Washington, D.C. 20530
and with a carbon copy, perhaps, to Stan Krueger at the same address.

B.I.A. Under Reorganization—Offers Of Co-operation From Indian Organizations Ignored.



— AIPA photo
Marvin Franklin — The Commissioner Who Never Was

Washington, D.C. — For almost a year now, there has been no Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the helm of the BIA. Ever since Louis Bruce got his walking papers for fraternizing with Indians during the Trail of Broken Treaties, that great ship of the Indian state has drifted through perilous seas without a pilot. Unless, that is, someone else is steering by remote control.

Not that anything has really suffered. Life has gone on — even the occupation at Wounded Knee didn't cause much of a wrinkle in the bureaucracy. For a time, oil-executive Marvin Franklin seemed to be in charge, but a riled Congress reminded the Executive Branch that legislators were not to be treated as if they were Indians — the law required that they approve of his appointment.

Now, after a dozen or so candidates for the job mentioned in the gossip of the capital had been passed over, 34-year-old Morris Thompson, an Athabascan from Alaska, has been put forward by Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton as the likely man. The FBI, Republican Party, and ranking Congressmen have to check him out before his nomination will be passed officially to the Senate.

Thompson had tied his career in the BIA to Walter Hickel, who preceded Morton in the Interior post. When Hickel lost favor with U.S. President Richard Nixon and was canned, Thompson was transferred to Juneau, Alaska, as area director, the BIA's equivalent of outer Siberia. Now, maybe, he will get a free move back to Washington.

Franklin was appointed early this year to a newly created position of assistant to the secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs. As a member of Morton's administrative staff, that job did not require Senate clearance. When he had come to Washington from a post high in the executive suite of Phillips Petroleum Company, he made it clear that he would not accept the relatively powerless position of commissioner — he had hoped that a reorganization of the BIA would put the agency in charge of an assistant secretary of the Interior.

There was another Franklin who was Commissioner of Indian Affairs — Benjamin Franklin, in the 1740s. He was replaced eventually by Sir William Johnson, and allegedly became involved in an armed revolution.

Franklin's Goal: Eliminating The Original Sin

Franklin has what the Department of the Interior press release calls "Indian heritage." He has been chairman of the Iowa tribal council, but primarily, he is a wealthy oil industrialist, and a close friend of W.W. Keeler, Phillips' chairman, the chief of the Cherokee Nation, and a strong Nixon supporter. In fact, his name has been mentioned in the \$100,000 which Phillips gave to the Nixon campaign, a matter which is being looked at by the Watergate investigators.

Within Interior, Franklin assumed part of the portfolio of Harrison Loesch, who became almost infamous to participants in the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan, and who was eased out at the same time as Bruce. Since then, though, Loesch has been well looked after, and is the Republican counsel for the Senate Interior Committee, which passes on all Indian legislation.

Franklin has never had to bother with ordinary BIA channels. While tribal chairman traipsed to BIA underlings, he would head directly for the White House or the Office of Management and Budget. Lately, he has been working with the Aleyaska Investment Company, the oil consortium involved in the development of Alaska's North Slope oil fields. His emphasis has been to create an Anchorage minority business investment company to provide management and financial assistance to Alaska Natives in the formation of a dozen Native corporations — some Natives have been critical of the potential conflicts of interest between native needs and rights and oil company needs.

Franklin has been active in the establishment of the American Indian Bank, to bring banking to "the little man" on the reservations. He is also an organizer and active officer in a life insurance company, an investment company, and a partner in a law firm.

But on July 10, he was accused by Senate Indian Affairs Committee chairman James Abourezk of illegally holding the office of Commissioner — until the White House got over its inexcusably negligent or arrogant behaviour in bypassing Senate confirmation, Abourezk said, there would be no further hearings on a proposed BIA administrative realignment.

Abourezk said he would adjourn the hearings "until such time as the Administration chooses to act within the law."

By the end of July, Franklin said he was stepping aside, partially because he would be unwilling to sever his relations with Phillips Petroleum, placing him in potential conflict of interest. Phillips does a lot of business with the BIA.

Most everyone mentioned for the job said they were not interested. Bruce Townsend, Tulsa lawyer said no. W.W. Keeler said he is not interested. Republicans said no to Forrest Gerard, a Montana Blackfoot who has been chief Democratic staff member of the Indian Affairs subcommittee for the past 2½ years.

Persons close to Franklin said he wouldn't blame anyone for not taking the job. They said he felt he was hamstrung by officials at higher levels, was not allowed to appoint his top assistants, and he was hampered by infighting within the bureau.

Franklin said that the BIA's relation to the Indian community as far as self-determination was concerned was like "having to have your wife turn the pages while you looked at Playboy."

Still in all, Franklin did a fair job while he was there, acting as educator, administrator, and morale builder.

He said he wanted to give BIA employees a little pride, instead of being "saddled with the thought that they had committed the original sin."



Franklin was anxious to get into economic development — he said he didn't know much about people and social things — and he saw that native land holdings totalled 2% of all U.S. territory (a loss of 98% in the last several hundred years). He said that Indians had generally failed to realize the economic potential of their vast agricultural, agro-industrial, and mineral holdings.

He leaves behind a whole series of 16mm color films he made for showing to tribal groups, explaining the new policies of the BIA to the native people.

Close at hand to the sad chain of events was the last commissioner, Louis Bruce — he is now an assistant dean of the Antioch School of Law in Washington.

Leaked Papers Tell Another Story

But the real reason why Interior is not proceeding with Franklin is that he has refused to take the job "for the simple reason I will not undertake the responsibility without the authority to control" the BIA. In other words, he refused to be the same figurehead that many other Commissioners have been. Franklin's statement was in an "administratively confidential" letter to Interior Undersecretary John Whittaker on July 6. The letter was leaked to the American Indian Press Association in October.

Franklin said the reorganization plans were "a thorn in my side" which he had not expected to become responsible for when he received his appointment. He was not happy to be forced to implement someone else's design for the agency of which he was to take command.

Franklin offered to remain at Interior for as long as it took to find an acceptable successor. "We can all save face," Franklin wrote in the secret memo, "by merely stating there could be a question of conflict that would take too much time to resolve." Thus it was that the story was planted in the *Washington Post* that the White House lawyers could not clear his nomination for the post because of his continuing financial ties to Phillips.

Franklin recalled to Whittaker the condition of the BIA when he came to the job last January:

"The BIA was almost totally disseminated. The infiltration of well-meaning but unskilled management into the executive level of the Bureau, coupled with an alliance of forces dedicated to disruption, had all but destroyed" the BIA, he wrote. "With the headquarters building sacked, records stolen and destroyed, personnel splintered, the [Nixon] Administration retaliating by separating the office and ordering a reduction in the central office — and above all, morale at an impossible low ebb — such was the scene when I arrived."

Although Franklin had spent months playing up the advantages of the re-organization, he states in his letter that he objected strenuously privately, and that the BIA already has "an adequate system . . . intact and capable of delivery."

He concluded by saying to Whittaker, "John, it has been a great experience working with you."

Yes, Marvin, it's been nice for the Indians too. Now, who's next?

"BIA: A Sick Organization"

But even after the Senate snub, Franklin carried on his work putting into effect what Abourezk called a "premature, illegal, and unrealistic realignment" of the BIA. On August 25, Abourezk was making a demand that Morton personally stop the move.

Franklin had sent a late-August memo to all BIA employees detailing a central office reorganization plan he said would be undertaken on an interim basis while awaiting a more far-reaching reshuffle of the entire agency. The new plan gives emphasis to area and regional offices, a move which many tribes say would lessen their options for self-determination.

"I have repeatedly requested that reorganization be delayed until these tribes can be realistically involved and until we have completed our hearings," Abourezk told Morton. He urged Morton to step in, "reprimanding those who are acting without proper authority." He urged that Morton take personal charge of the BIA until a new commissioner had been legally appointed.

As Franklin sees it, the central office would have only policy-making authority, the area offices would supply technical assistance, and the local agencies and tribal councils would run the programs. That's sort of how they would do it in the oil industry, but then, the men or the bottom are supposed to take orders and there is no need for them to be in a position to affect policy.

Interior Department's answer to "hearing the Indian voice" is to have a national Indian commission which would listen to various groups, then go to Congress and the President with "Indian views", Franklin says.

Under the new plan, the BIA would be run by an administrative director, and the policy would be handled by the assistant secretary reporting directly to the Secretary of the Interior.

When the Trail of Broken Treaties submitted its Twenty Points, it recommended that the BIA be dismantled by 1976, to be replaced by a temporary Indian Community Reconstruction Agency. In Denver in September, Peter MacDonald, tribal chairman of the Navajo Nation, also called for dismantling the BIA so it could "never again exercise total control over activities of tribal governments."

Charles Trimble, executive director of the prestigious National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), told the 300 Indian leaders gathered at Denver's Cosmopolitan Hotel that the redesign of the BIA has been carried out in a "clandestine" manner. "No Indian (continued on next page)

organizations are involved in the reorganization — offers of cooperation have been ignored," he said.

Franklin and Morton and other BIA officials had told the meeting they were seeking critical views so that they could "improve the performance of all elements of the BIA." They said the goal of the BIA was to strengthen tribal governments so that they could manage their own affairs.

Most of the Indian representatives lashed the BIA bureaucrats, demanding control of their own future. Most echoed the call of Ernest Stevens, a former top-level BIA executive in the Bruce regime, who said, "It's time we began to give marching orders to the Commissioner."

Bill Farrison, a San Carlos Apache tribal consultant, compared the frequent BIA reorganizations with the return of the locusts.

Speaking for the Standing Rock Sioux tribal council, Robert McLaughlin called the BIA a "sick organization" which has inflicted "almost catastrophic consequences" on his people.

Apparently believing that the BIA is an Indian organization, Ernesto Lovato of the All-Indian Pueblo Council appealed to his colleagues to tell the reorganizers "no dice. We want to put an Indian package together ourselves."

LaFollette Butler, a BIA employee, agreed that the agency's reorganization history was sad, but he warned that a reorganization was necessary to protect tribal governments from large-scale attacks from all sides, warning that the current situation was a "major crisis."

It Takes 715 Bureaucrats to Make Policy

Basically, the reorganization plan calls for shifting operational activities to 12 field offices, leaving Washington as a solely policy-making office. The permanent central office work force will be reduced from 1,315 to 715 — still a huge number of "policy-makers". The number of "divisions" will be reduced from 13 to 6.

Tribal governing bodies will be empowered to select an area advisory council to give guidance to area offices in determining budgets, and members of this council will select representatives to a national advisory council to advise the central BIA office on policy matters.

Neither council will have veto authority, however, and the chances are that grass-roots Indian opinion will be well-screened out by the time it passes through the local-area-national-BIA chain-of-command.

The whole plan falls far short of creating the independent advocate agency for native concerns, and it is in another world when compared with the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties.

The plan was devised by Richard Bodman, the assistant interior secretary of budget and management, who took over the active management of the BIA during the hectic days following the Trail's occupation and destruction of the Washington headquarters. The changes now being implemented by Franklin follow squarely the design telegraphed by Bodman to area offices last January 19.

It was also learned that Bodman told a select group of tribal chairmen that the new BIA structure had been "in the making for over a year under my personal supervision" and was "totally unrelated" to the November BIA takeover by the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan.

Bodman said the changes were taken after consultations "with representatives of the Indian community," but he gave no names.

Immediately after the announcement, however, Leon Cook, National Congress of American Indians president, denounced the plan as running counter to Indian objectives of achieving greater self-determination at the level of tribal government.

Cook said that the reorganization would increase the power of the BIA's eleven area directors, not the Indian communities.



"Historically, they have been the real autocrats and the godfathers in disbursing money and influence to the local level," Cook said. He also noted that the Interior Department still had not created an office of general counsel to act as an advocate for Indian treaty and trust rights, and which could intercede on behalf of Indian interests with other governmental agencies, including the Interior Department. The idea was one proposed by U.S. President Richard Nixon in his July 1970 Message to Congress.

The area directors form a powerblock within the BIA. They are led by Phoenix area director John Artichoker Jr. Backed by the powerful National Tribal Chairmen's Association (NTCA), the area directors have been attempting openly to regain some of the control they had lost during the tenure of Louis Bruce.

"Area offices were fine before we had telephones," Leon Cook says. He counters the NTCA argument by demanding that area offices be eliminated entirely from the BIA structure.

Another subtle force behind BIA realignment is the White House. Administration officials are still quietly attempting to fit the BIA into their "federal regionalization plan". That plan involves the transfer of authorities and monies from centralized government agencies to ten Federal Regional Councils across the country which coordinate and clear all federal business.

As if all of this were bad enough, even before this reorganization is completed, classified documents leaked out of the highest levels of the Interior Department indicate that still another reorganization is contemplated. That is, there will be a reorganization of the current reorganization.

The new move proposes a three-step plan, each step presented as complete in itself, and without indication that other steps will follow. It will operate under the pretense of giving in to activists who are so critical of the area offices.

A memorandum dated July 2 written by John M. Seidl, deputy assistant Interior secretary for program development to Nixon's man in Interior, John C. Whittaker, tells the story. First, under the topic, "Removal of BIA Area Directors" will be a propaganda effort to convince native people that many of their problems result from the extraordinary administrative overhead caused by area offices.

Then, another campaign will "prove to the Indian people that they will receive better services by changing Area offices into technical service centers". Four of these TSCs would replace the existing area offices, and two more regional centers would provide "administrative support services."

Once the Indian people have been "convinced" of the wisdom of this system, "they will agree", according to the memo. Then the final stage will begin. The BIA Regional Service Centers would then be fitted into the President's regionalization policy.

Shifting BIA services into Federal Regional Councils has been opposed loudly and vehemently by groups such as the National Congress of American Indians. Chuck Trimble, executive director of NCAI, says that the FRC "are susceptible and vulnerable to state control [over Indians] which Indians have long opposed; because the unified power of the small Indian minority would be dispersed; and because Indians would then have to deal with several 'central offices' rather than one."

The memorandum details how all the various groups involved in the scheme would be controlled. The Interior Steering Committee on BIA Reorganization would be told by John Whittaker "how to proceed." The Interior Implementation Working Group, recently sent to Interior from the White House, could be used "to effect the complete abolishment of the existing Area Office structure." The stated task of the working group is to make recommendations to the Interior Steering Committee "after maximum consultation with Indians on all major decisions."

Then, the Civil Service Commission would be used to "take appropriate personnel actions against the present Area Directors."

Some congressmen have been influential enough to prevent the transfer of certain area directors in the past. The memo states: "If we develop a strategy where our main concern and effort are in reorganizing the field structure of the BIA, and a necessary by-product of the reorganization is the movement of individuals, I firmly believe, with proper briefing and discussion with key congressional members, we can shortcut a great deal of the political disagreement."

It was felt that Interior could "muster the support" of the NCAI, National Indian Youth Council, and other native action groups. But problems were anticipated, with the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, the outfit usually depended upon to back up the Interior Department when it needed "the Indian voice". The NTCA had gone on record as being opposed to any action against area directors.

Interior "would probably be at loggerheads" with NTCA, the memo states, "because its present diminishing membership is largely composed of those chairmen under the tutelage of the area directors to be replaced."

Seidl also was willing to develop strategies for removing area directors who might prove to be difficult.

"If you so desire," he told Whittaker, "we can provide you with a few scenarios showing you how specific area directors could be reassigned."

The whole system of area offices was created in 1948, and over the years, area offices built up impressive political clout to withstand pressures against them. In 1948, a flood-tide of paperwork requiring prompt decisions piled up under the older system of superintendents reporting directly to central office in Washington. Ironically, the decision to kill area offices in 1973 is the same as the one which started them in 1948: to improve the delivery of services to the Indian populace.



"Never in the 25-year history of the BIA area directors has there been a better climate [to remove them]," the Seidl memo states. "A mass rotation or reassignment of area directors was attempted by Commissioner Bruce in November, 1970. This rotation policy was a failure because of political pressure and lack of pre-planning and strategy in its approach. Most of the area directors have built up considerable political backing over the years that they can call on when under pressure."

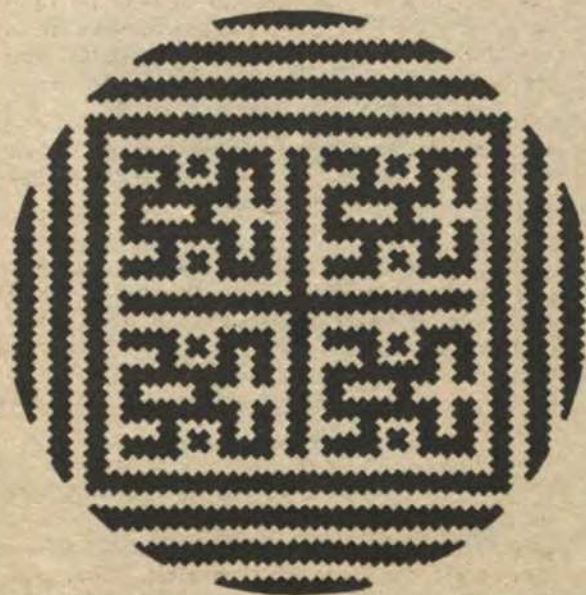
Seidl recommended against a reshuffle of area directors, noting that there were few alternative positions available for them.

"While several of them probably would take the opportunity to retire, we would still have four or five being shuffled around to other locations and problems from the 'old guard' would still exist. . . The Directorships have become fiefdoms run by career civil servants who need not be and are not responsible to Indian needs and initiatives. Moreover, efforts by the tribes to exert pressures on the area directors are cut short because of the extraordinary powers the directors have to reward cooperative tribes and punish the uncooperative," Seidl notes.

Somehow, it seemed different in tone coming from high in the Interior Department than from people like Russ Means of AIM, who has said the same thing long before.

Consider the following statement: "To improve the quality of reservation life, we must change the present program delivery mechanisms and get the tribes out from under the deadweight of the BIA. The majority of all Indian appropriations support the BIA staff. We must look to the Indian people on each reservation to show how these delivery mechanisms should be changed for them to realize self-determination as they see it for their own reservation. Until this happens, the 16,000-man bureaucracy known as the BIA will continue to sustain itself through its half-a-billion dollar budget. We must find ways to change the bureaucracy so that these resources can truly be used by Indian people." Would such a statement come from a senior Interior Department executive, or from the Trail of Broken Treaties Twenty Points left when the BIA headquarters was destroyed last November? The answer: it was in the leaked documents written by Seidl.

(more Washington news on the next page)



The Bureau of Indian Affairs is not the only government agency having trouble with its top personnel. George Clark, director of Indian Affairs for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has been under unrelenting pressure from top brass to resign or face dismissal, according to informed sources.

So far, Clark — one of the highest ranking Indians in government — has refused to submit to the harassment which started when he refused to back off in a disagreement with senior management on Indian policy. However, he is reportedly seeking a new position.

Clark's dispute with his superiors arose over a critique submitted by the Standing Rock Sioux, who charged that revenue-sharing plans and the decentralization of the U.S. Government into regional offices would force them to deal with the state of North Dakota in contravention of their treaty which specifies a federal relationship.

Clark's reply for the HEW secretary's signature stated that special revenue sharing might solve some of the problems raised by the Sioux, and there might be room for direct federal grants to Indian tribes.

The letter was intercepted at HEW's Office of Human Development, and a new reply was drafted. Shortly afterwards, Clark was asked to resign or face the risk of getting thrown out. Although he stayed, it now seems that the Office of Indian Affairs is being phased out, and its functions are to be transferred to Human Development, which will also administer Indian programs formerly run by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

The sad implication of this shift is that while Clark's office was mandated to be an advocate for Indian programs within HEW, the new office will just run whatever programs there are, and no one will be pushing HEW for good meaningful projects. Native groups have long worried that HEW would soon decentralize and downgrade Indian programs.

What seems worse from the native perspective is that the new Human Development Program is to be a haven for political featherbedding, apparently.

A score or more high-level "consultants" were brought into the agency by now-deposed OEO director Howard Phillips, and although they do not operate under auspices of the Civil Service, they are performing policy-making functions.

Many of the political appointees will be involved in running the "Indian desk" of the Human Development division of the Department of Health, Education, and

(continued in third column)

NEW HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM TO BE HAVEN FOR POLITICAL FEATHERBEDDING (for "CREEP"s)



Welfare, which is taking over OEO Indian programs, as well as HEW's own Office of Indian Affairs.

A number of the political appointees came directly to government employment from the Watergate-famed Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), including Frank Leonard, Harry Kettner, Barbara Higgins, Rosemary DeEsquivel. Other appointments included Peter McCall and Jonnell Jacobson of the Republican National Committee, and Howard Segermark, Phillip Devaney, Cleo Tibbs, and Jerome Climer, who were on the staffs of Republican legislators. Some of the posts paid over \$35,000 annually.

Civil servants affected by the political maneuverings charge that federal programs which get much publicity as aids to the poor and to Indians really are a kind of money pipeline with high level managerial bureaucrats funneling in money from the top, consultants and private contractors tapping in on the line along the way, and recipients like the Indians on the other end where the flow trickles out.

Ironically, some of the political appointees don't like the ideology of the poverty programs, but because they have agencies like the Office of Child Development solidly under their thumbs, keep them going because of the ready cash flow from Congress for programs like Head Start. Over \$10-million is being spent on Indian Head Start alone — but over half of the Head Start programs on reservations are run by non-Indian directors.

Some of the Head Start programs do a good job, regardless of the race of the director, but vast amounts intended for grassroots use is siphoned off by such units as the Program and Innovation Division (PID). It eats up training and technical assistance money, and contracts with middlemen contractors.

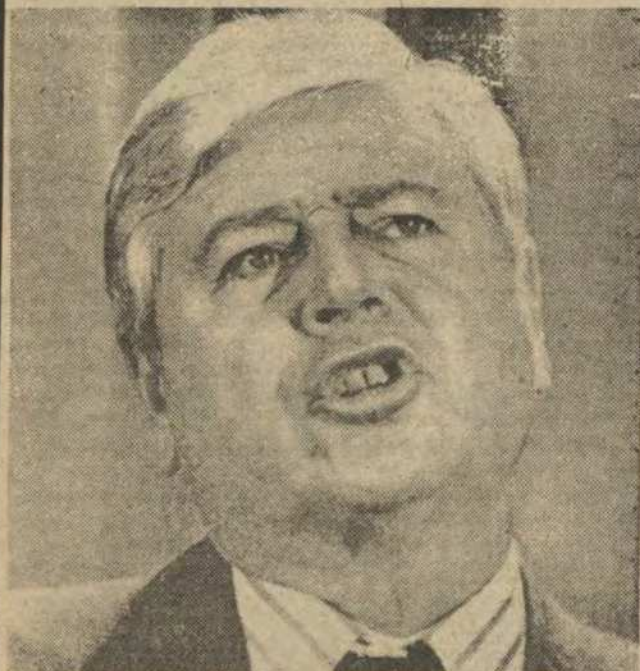
"We're disgusted with these contracts," says one Indian Head Start director. "We never get to see the contracts — if we could, we'd prove that we could do a better job if the money came directly to us."

(Thanks to Race Relations Reporter, New York Times News Service, Karen Duchensaux of the American Indian Press Association News Service, William Vance of the Washington Bureau of the Philadelphia Inquirer, Tulsa Tribune, Glenn Troelstrup of the Denver Post, Seer's Catalogue, Liberation News Service, Associated Press, Ed Meagher of the Los Angeles Times, Vivian Vahlberg of the Washington Bureau of the Daily Oklahoman, United Press International, Finlay Lewis of the Minneapolis Tribune, and Ernest B. Furquison of the Baltimore Sun, and the Federal Times, for information used in this analysis.)

A FEW THINGS NATIVE PEOPLES DEALING WITH THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD UNDERSTAND ABOUT WITH WHOM THEY ARE DEALING.

(The Interior Department is expected to stand up for Indian rights and for the environment. Although the present secretary of the department, Rogers Morton, had a good record on environmental issues before he took the job — and while he expresses strong sympathies for Indian matters from time to time — he has not defended these issues as vigorously as one would expect now that he is secretary. Theo Lippman Jr., writing for the Baltimore Sun in a February 12 article, indicates some of the background — and native people dealing with the government should understand with whom they are dealing.)

[Morton] is secretary in name only. He also has lost out with the politicians.



Rogers Morton: More to be Pitied than Censured?

The Interior Department apparently is being run by the White House staff, principally through the person of new Under Secretary John Whitaker. He used to be at the White House, the staff man assigned the general area of natural resources. Though he and Morton got on very well personally, there were incidents in which they sharply disagreed. Whitaker usually prevailed.

Morton says he asked for Whitaker as his under secretary. Others familiar with the situation say he would have gotten him whether he asked or not. These same sources, on Capitol Hill and in the White House, say Whitaker is now the effective boss of the Interior Department.

Not only is Morton cut off from below, but his access to the president and thus his influence as a policy maker has been cut off above, too. Recently President Nixon named Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz as the White House counsel in charge of natural resources. That makes him a virtual super Cabinet officer, over his own department, plus Morton's, plus some other agencies of government that work in this area. [And the secretary of HEW was given human resources and control over Indian matters.]

... Meanwhile, Morton is having to fight White House aides to fill his own assistant secretaryships. ... The important and — to conservationists — symbolic job of

director of the National Parks Service was filled by the White House without Morton's knowledge or concurrence, it is said, and by a White House pet with only political experience.

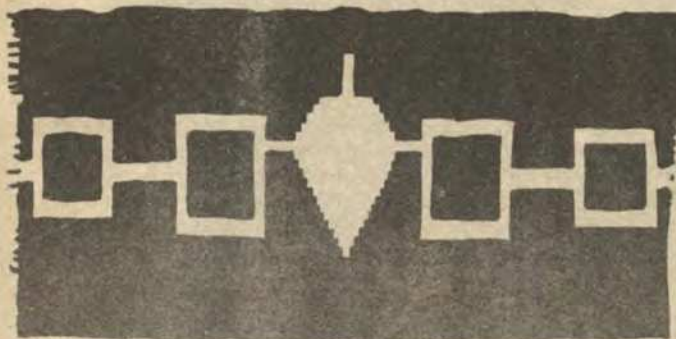
He has never opposed the president in public, and when they have disagreed in private, he has been quick to put his displeasure aside. (Last fall when some Indians took over the BIA, Morton proposed a get-tough policy, was overruled by White House aides, and went along with the decision without noticeable reluctance.)

... You can get odds in Washington that he will be looking for some other job by 1974...



THE EAST

Land Struggle Continues At Akwesasne



Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne — Continuing tensions between elected councilmen and the People of the Longhouse were heightened in August when the council, accompanied with armed tribal policemen, hauled an occupied house-trailer off land owned by a Longhouse member and took it to the tribal council hall.

The trailer was on land which the council had attempted to seize last November, charging in county court that Richard Cook, a leader of the Longhouse and a farmer on the reservation, was not entitled to buy property from another Mohawk landowner, Amelia Lazore.

Although hearings on the land case finished early last winter, the issue is a hot one, and Franklin County Judge Ellsworth Lawrence has not yet ruled on the matter. In fact, he says it may be another six months before a ruling can be expected.

What he did do, though, was to rule on a pre-trial motion made by Richard Cook's attorney that the elective chiefs did not have standing to bring the case to the court. Judge Lawrence ruled in early August that they did have standing, and therefore he would proceed to rule on the land dispute itself.

However, his ruling was not fully understood, and the elective chief Russell Lazore, sub-chief Junior Bigtree, and about 12 other persons went to an old house trailer in which Ateronhiatakon, his wife Kawennos, and their daughter, Kawenniosta, live on the land. They demanded that the trailer be moved in 30 minutes — and soon they returned with a tractor and removed it from the land. The elective chiefs were accompanied by members of the Akwesasne Police, whose legal status is also under attack by many local residents.



Kawennos, Ateronhiatakon, & Kawenniosta

The trailer was hauled away to the elective council house. State troopers called to the scene refused to intervene in the matter, and the district attorney has thus far refused to initiate prosecution. Ateronhiatakon and his family moved into a small tent on the same site.

Some Akwesasne people — as well as attorneys — felt that there was a violation of Indian law as well as U.S. criminal and civil law in the removal of the trailer. Due process was not followed by a tribal official, contrary to the Indian Civil Rights Act. The use of armed police in the civil dispute constituted criminal coercion, some attorneys advised. More seriously, there seems some

kind of conspiracy among authorities not to take action in the matter — everyone from the state troopers to the U.S. Department of Justice say they can do nothing — it is an "internal matter".

Unable to get legal assistance, Ateronhiatakon and some friends finally simply went to the council house and hooked up the trailer and took it back to its original spot on the land. Inside, it was littered with broken dishes and rotting food from the bumpy sudden ride and the long stay at the council hall.

Although there are those on both sides who are calling for "action", most people seem content to wait until the case taken to the county court by the elective chiefs is ruled upon by Judge Lawrence.

Just the same, the elected council pressed on, and in September, filed a letter of petition with the district attorney, asking that Sakokwenonkwes (Tom Porter) Ateronhiatakon, and several other Longhouse members be completely banned from the reservation.

Judge Lawrence moved promptly on the petition, and issued orders that those named, many of whom travel with the White Roots of Peace and participate in farming and other community programs while at home, should be banned from the Akwesasne reservation.

Judge Lawrence's order was immediately appealed to the New York State Supreme Court, and a stay of proceedings was granted. Now, opposing sides are filing their briefs, and the case will be heard in November.

At stake is the authority of the elected council to make up, at their own discretion, a roll of members, or to remove names from the roll as they see fit. The elected council claim that residence on the reservation is limited to persons on the roll. Over 90 families now in residence could be affected by the ruling.

Despite the stay of proceedings, it was feared for a time that the elected council would take the law in its own hands and conduct its own eviction. However, several carloads of American Indian Movement members and members of the Iroquois Confederacy from other reservations came to protect the land and trailer, and there were no incidents.

Fear of the American Indian Movement among tribal and government officials is reaching hysterical proportions in some areas. At Akwesasne in early June, rumors began to circulate that AIM people were coming to the reservation, and a few out-of-state cars were seen cruising around (likely tourists.) As a result, the word was that the border crossing was secretly armed with riot police, dogs, and riot-control equipment, and FBI agents began to interview local residents about their knowledge of the AIM invasion.



CAROLINA ACTIVISTS STILL FACE COURT ACTION IN BIA DOCUMENTS CASE

Robeson County, North Carolina — Activist causes can be exciting during the heat of battle, but after the fray is over and the spotlights and headlines have turned to other scenes, often participants are left unnoticed with heavy financial obligations, problems, even jail sentences — and no one is around to help.

The press will probably be around the trials of the participants at Wounded Knee, but here in southeastern North Carolina it's different. As a result of the Trail of Broken Treaties, and a rally in support of Wounded Knee, men are already in jail for lengthy periods, and others are even now facing prosecution.

Truckloads of documents were taken from Washington during the BIA takeover last November, and surprised by the windfall of good fortune, participants in the event didn't know what to do with the truckload of papers. Some were winnowed through and returned, while others were stashed away until researchers could look them over.

One of the largest stashes was in North Carolina, and three people — Elias Rogers, Keever Locklear, and Dock Locklear — are charged with receiving stolen property.

On April 9, 1973, federal and state agents seized a large quantity of BIA papers at the home of Dock Locklear and at Keever Locklear's farm. Rogers was charged with interfering with federal officers in the performance of their duties. The trio was jailed, and held on \$35,000 bonds. They have all been bailed out, but the trials were set for this autumn.

One of the promises handed down in Washington during the occupation was that there would be no prosecution arising from the action, and the men are relying on the signed statement as a defense. There has been little publicity, and funds to run an aggressive legal defense have been scarce. They are represented by Philip Diehl of Raeford and Jim Rowan of Durham.

Further information can be requested from:
(and donations can be sent to:)

Eastern Carolina Tuscarora Defense,
POBox 688
Raeford, North Carolina 28376

IROQUOIS IRONWORKERS ACQUITTED AS FILM SHOWS POLICE ATTACKED THEM

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania — Four Iroquois ironworkers were acquitted July 26 of charges of assaulting police after the jury viewed films of the incident which had been made by a Hollywood movie crew.

One additional ironworker, Leroy Shenandoah, 24, an Onondaga, was shot and killed during the assault by police officers. His death was later ruled "justifiable homicide."

The Iroquois group had gathered on a balcony of the hotel where they stayed while working away from the reservation, to watch a movie being made on the street below. From somewhere in the hotel, a mattress was thrown down, and police went to the balcony to remove the Indians. Police contended the Iroquois resisted arrest, and force was required to subdue them. Shenandoah was killed in the struggle.

But after three weeks of testimony, the jury took only two hours to acquit Raymond Moses, 20, Maynard Gabriel, 26; Marvin Crouse, 25; and John Benedict, 26. Benedict is from Akwesasne; the others are Onondagas.

After police testimony was completed, the defense announced a fact that was not previously known: the movie crew had swung its cameras around, and the entire incident was on film. It completely discredited the testimony of the police. Philadelphia's police department has long been strongly criticized by minority groups for its fascist and brutal tactics.

Shenandoah's widow and mother both attended the trial. A U.S. District Court suit has been filed by the mother seeking damages for her son's death. Defense attorneys indicated civil action for damages might also be sought by the other men, some of whom were also severely wounded by police bullets.



Assistant district attorney Donald Joel had based his case largely on the testimony of Sgt. Thomas Rambo. Rambo had said he saw three men beating Patrolman Albert Montanaro after the officers climbed up to the second floor balcony at Quince and Spruce Streets to quiet the group of Iroquois who were allegedly making

the disturbance. Rambo also testified he had been beaten by three men.

Rambo testified there was no police misconduct, and that he was in so much pain from the assaults by the Iroquois he couldn't move. But the movie — which the district attorney didn't know existed until after the trial began — showed Rambo on the fire escape moving back and forth while Shenandoah lay nearby being punched and kicked.

The jury wasted little time after the three weeks of testimony, deliberating less than two hours. As the decision was announced, the courtroom erupted into applause by the spectators. The jury was predominately composed of Black people, and it was believed that their ability to detect gross racism in the police and prosecution was an important factor in their decision.



Defense attorneys maintained throughout the trial that it was the policemen who had attacked the Iroquois. The film shown was short — just a minute and a half — and the judge would not allow it to be shown more than twice, and not in slow motion. But it seemed clear that the fight was nothing like Rambo described. One juror, a Ms. Smith, said she saw patrolmen "punching, kicking, and ripping someone's shirt."

(Thanks to Ben Ginsberg of the Philadelphia Bulletin, Philip Goldsmith of the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Society of Friends, and Beulah Powless for their information and assistance.)

The civil suit filed by the family of Leroy Shenandoah and by others injured in the police violence will be coming up soon. Help and funds are needed. Contact this address:

Leroy Shenandoah Defense Fund
POBox 148
Nedrow, New York 13120

ALASKAN NOTES

ALASKAN NATIVES: WILL THEY KEEP THEIR LAND AFTER TWENTY YEARS?

Anchorage, Alaska — It has been a year since the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act was passed, settling a 104-year-old dispute about who owns Alaska. Although the Act allegedly gave \$962.5-million and 40 million acres in exchange for just about everything else, it would seem now that the act may not be implemented as planned.

The Act takes away as well as gives. One of the things it takes away is all further claim on 325-million acres of Alaska. Even to claim their 40-million acres, there are rigid deadlines the native must meet, unclear definitions that must be battled, seemingly conflicting provisions in the act, not to mention slow-moving government bureaucracies and changing national political directions which may thwart the intentions of Congress itself.

Under the act, agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management, the United States Park Service, and the Fish and Wildlife Service are to assist the natives in gathering technical data about the land so they can make a good choice. But the agencies lack enough staff members to coordinate the raw information they have on hand, as well as the fact that the agencies themselves have an eye to certain lands for their own purposes.

The village settlements and the regional corporations only have two or three more years to determine their land choices. With hardly any information, for instance regarding gas or mineral potentials, they must make their choice once and for all. Few villages have a managerial class or sophisticated communications/transportation network to help with this.

Then there is the problem that acreage they might select would already be encumbered with valid mining claims, potential state or federal public easements, or may be under lake and stream beds that could be defined as navigable waters, meaning the subsurface rights belong to the State of Alaska.

To further complicate matters, the villages, few of which are formally organized, cannot select land until they have been incorporated.

The Alaskan Federation of Natives is hoping to get amendments to the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Act in order to change the land status of the 40 million acres turned over to native control in 'fee simple' title under the current legislation. The new amendment would seek to convert the land into trust title, as the AFN says that the land will be lost in 20 years if they don't receive help in this critical matter.



Mining interests are delighted that the land is in native control. They believe that they "will be able to make far more advantageous agreements with Native corporations owning vast tracts of prime mineral lands than they ever could have with state or federal ownership of the same lands," reports Mrs. Judy Brady, a well-known Alaska research writer in a report commissioned by the Alaska Native Foundation.

The companies even hope that the native corporations will put up the necessary risk capital to finance their own exploitation.



Rogers Morton: The Advocate for Natives?

Interior Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton sat behind closed doors for two hours in Anchorage in late August, confronted by angry native leaders representing the state's 75,000 native people.

In recent months, the Interior Department has been making decisions of tremendous impact, setting aside a wildlife reserve here, specifying public lands there, and in general, relegating native land selections to last choice.

"There's been inadequate native input into the Secretary's decisions," state senator Willie Hensley said. He is president of the Alaska Federation of Natives. "The act calls for maximum native participation in the implementation, but we have no real advocate in the Interior Department."

Hensley complained about bureaucrats and a lack of native representation on a task force of thirty Interior Department experts who are providing information on Alaska land through a federal-state land-use planning commission.

Morton has withdrawn 80-million acres of land from use, sometimes in conflict with native plans for selecting their 40-million acres.

"I feel I'm an advocate of the native people," Morton said in answer to Hensley's criticism. "I feel strongly the bill is the right way for the nation to go."



— James Kowalsky/Tundra Times
CULTURAL EDUCATION I (BUT IN WHOSE CULTURE?) The Arctic Chamber Orchestra performs classical Bach in a concert in the village of Hughes. The 24 member orchestra was flown into the remote village. The village responded with a potlatch of moose-head soup and other delicacies.



CULTURAL EDUCATION II (BUT IN WHOSE CULTURE?) — These Inuit and Bethel, Alaska, native children were brought to Anchorage by the BIA "to help youngsters make the transition from rural to urban life styles. They swam in the Holiday Inn, ate in plush hotel restaurants, and went bowling and shopping for the first time. With them is Mrs. Ella Craig, BIA social worker.

Typical of the problems is that of the Chugach Native Association, which says that the withdrawal of land by Morton is not enough to protect their claims. Clark Gruening, attorney for the Chugach group, says that 70% of the land reserved for them by the Interior Department was made up of glaciers and mountaintops, rather than "lands similar in character to those on which a village is located" as is required by the Land Claims Act.



The confusion and conflicts of interest are also within Native groups. The Board of Directors of Doyon, Ltd., a native corporation of 31 villages in central Alaska, has raised some anger by its statement of unanimous opposition to the trans-Alaska pipeline. Doyon is the profit

arm of the Tanana Chiefs Conference, the largest of the 12 regional corporations created under the Settlement Act. Ten thousand native people live within Doyon's region, which reaches from the Yukon Territory on the east to the crest of the Brooks Range in the Arctic, to beyond the Alaska Range on the south and far into the western reaches of the state.

Doyon's own president is heavily involved in State and national politics, and has, with Doyon's executive director and other natives, been in Washington lobbying Congress on behalf of the pipeline. Native fears have been raised because payment of their monies mostly comes from oil royalties. No pipeline, no oil, no royalties, the line goes.

Doyon's statement also says it wants no roads north and west of Fairbanks. It fears an influx of outsiders who are not tied to subsistence living, who will ruin the land, leaving the people worse off than ever.

Urban native leaders have been lobbying for the very depredations that their rural subsistence-oriented constituents fear, often even without their knowledge.

"The possible monies we, as a corporation, will receive from the royalty of the oil from the North Slope will in no way compensate for the existing life-style of our people. Our people must continue to live off the land for years to come. . . It matters little to us that other people may need jobs and fuel for their cars at the expense of over-running our villages with caterpillar tractors, trucks, and pipes," the Doyon statement says.

(Thanks to Jim Kowalsky writing in *No Man Apart*, to the *York Times*, and Daryl Lembke of the *Los Angeles Times* for this information.)

CALIFORNIA



San Diego, California — Chief U.S. District Court Judge Edward J. Schwartz rapped the failure of the United States to take serious legal action to ensure sufficient water to various Mission Indian bands in San Diego area.

The court denied motions that would have compelled the Escondido Mutual Water Company and the Vista Irrigation District to provide certain water quantities to the Rincon, La Jolla, San Pasqual and Pala bands.

Schwartz told attorney Robert Pelcyger, representing the Indian bands, that there were only two courses available to determine the water controversy. One, he said, was to resolve the differences out of court. The other was to have a full trial with a decision based on evidence.

"I think the time has come for the parties to cease making motions and knuckle down to bringing to trial and put in evidence to allow the court to make a decision," Schwartz told the attorney.

The U.S. had asked the court to issue orders that would compel the delivery of six cubic feet of water per second (cfs) to the Rincon Dam during the dry months, to compel the defendants to store sufficient water in Lake Henshaw, and to permit the San Pasqual Reservation to withdraw any amount of water from the Escondido Canal for its own use.

The court issued its denial on July 7. The bands themselves are unable to bring the matter to trial without the U.S.

Sonora, California — An all-white jury here acquitted Constancio DeOcampo, a Miwok Nation man accused of murdering a white youth in nearby Jamestown last September.

The nine-woman, three-man jury deliberated for 2½ hours before returning its verdict June 26. DeOcampo, 36, a Vallejo resident and father of five, stood trial for four weeks on second-degree murder charges of fatally shooting Andrew Nelson, 20, during a raucous party.

The courtroom was packed with spectators, many of whom were native people, who were sympathetic to DeOcampo. Some wept happily when the verdict came in.

DeOcampo said afterwards, "I thought I would never get justice in this little town. This was an all-white jury — but I found out that maybe there is justice for people like us in California and throughout the United States."

Although it was true that DeOcampo might have found justice, the process was an expensive one for him. He spent nine months of his life fighting the case, during which he lost his home, his job, his schooling, and even causing his family to become severely disrupted.

His case became a famous cause among native organizations when the prosecution decided to press the charges even after a grand jury failed to indict him last October — it was the first time in 74 years in which a California defendant had to stand trial after a grand jury refused to indict.

(Thanks to the San Francisco Chronicle for its article on which this information is based.)

San Francisco, California — The campaign of the Pitt River people for the return of 3,500,000 acres of ancestral land within the shadows of Mt. Shasta and Mt. Lassen has finally reached a high court.

A brief on behalf of the Pitt River Tribe in the federal prosecution of Raymond Lego in the Federal Court of Appeals has been filed. The prosecution of Lego resulted from the cutting of trees on "Forest Service" land at Four Corners in California's Shasta County. The trees were being cut to build traditional native structures on land reclaimed and occupied by the Pitt River people.

Reclamation of tribal lands began at a Pacific Gas and Electric campground in June, 1970, and the struggle shifted to land claimed by federal agencies a few months later.

The U.S. case specifies that the native people lost the land in 1853 by statute. However, there was no native consent or treaty as required by U.S. law. Further, the Pitt River brief charges that the means to obtain the land — in fact most of the land in California — was the killing of at least 100,000 people, which violated their constitutional rights, to say the least. Others who were not killed were driven off their land causing starvation and extreme hardship.



Alcatraz Soon To Become Tourist Attraction — NPS Open To Suggestion



Alcatraz: A monument of inhumanity, or a monument for native life?

APPEALS COURT FAVORS INDIANS HELD FOR COPPER SALES AT ALCATRAZ

San Francisco, California — The Ninth Court of Appeals reversed the Northern District Court of California in a January 24th decision regarding the three native men whose arrest for theft of copper wire was used as the excuse for government forces to remove native people occupying Alcatraz Island, in 1971.

The three — John Halloran, Frank Robbins, and Raymond Cox — had been arrested with wire which they had laboriously salvaged from beneath concrete at the abandoned prison. Funds were being used to support the occupation of the island. Federal officials said that since the "Indians were stealing" their presence on the island could be tolerated no further.

The court said that the trial judge erred when he refused a defense request to instruct the jury about the nature of "possession". He refused, but after the defense had finished its case, the judge reversed himself and made the instruction. The error, the appeals court said, "went to the heart of the defense."

Sacramento, California — Governor Ronald Reagan has plans to build a new official mansion on an eleven-acre site which includes the remains of a burial ground of native peoples. On April 22, an attempt was made by six Indians, some armed, to occupy the site in protest.

Their attempt was thwarted, however, by sheriff's deputies who arrested them after one shot was fired. They were charged with assaulting a police officer and malicious mischief.

A proposal before the state's Senate Finance Committee to excavate the site, formerly home of the Maidu people, has not yet been acted upon.

El Centro, California — A preliminary investigation by a title firm has produced no records to show land claimed by the Quechan Tribe actually belongs to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, tribal council president Elmer Savilla announced in July.

A developer, C.C. Rambo, had leased the land from the railroad, and proposed to build a truck stop, restaurant, and motel on the property. The Quechans claimed the land and the federal government ordered a title search to determine ownership. The disputed land is located 16 miles southwest of Winterhaven near the International Border.

Besides the property claimed by the railroad, the Quechan people also are pressing for a lawsuit to regain nearby land which the Imperial Irrigation District says belongs to it.

Representatives of the Quechan Tribal Council had told county commissioners that they would use force if necessary to hold onto land being taken from them.

"The land originally belonged to the Quechan people and we granted the railroad a right-of-way, but they haven't used it for ten years, so it reverts back to us," Savilla said.

The tribal council has been urging governmental action on their behalf in the courts, but the process has been slow. They have been told their request is being reviewed by the BIA, and by the solicitor's office in the Department of the Interior. If a favorable review is given, it will be forwarded to the Department of Justice, which will then consider legal action.

San Francisco, California — Alcatraz Island, the 12 acres which America couldn't spare for the native peoples, is going to be a tourist attraction now.

It has been turned over to the National Park Service — a part of the same Department of the Interior which administers Indian Affairs. A NPS spokesman said the agency "was open to suggestions" as to just what to do with the former federal prison which was occupied by native peoples of Indians of All Tribes for 18 months.

The Park Service is putting together a prospectus for businessmen interested in providing transportation and maintenance for the island.

Most of the suggestions the park people have received concern some kind of monument. Millionaire Lamar Hunt Jr., for instance, wants a torch of liberty built. Others want a prison museum established.

"We're open to any input from the community," said David Ames, superintendent of the Fort Point National Historic Site.

The Indians have already had their input.

The 8,900-acre reservation is in California adjacent to the Arizona boundary, and is bordered by the All-American Canal and the United States/Mexico border. It has recently talked of seceding from California and annexing to Arizona.

El Centro, California — County officials have appealed to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals a federal court ruling upholding the Quechan Tribe's right to enforce game regulations on the reservation. The appeal brief was filed February 27.

A suit had arisen when tribal game warden Alfred Buker confiscated the firearms of three Norwalk, Calif., youths in September, 1971. Sheriff's Sgt. Frank Moore later ordered Buker to return the firearms, and arrested the Indian warden on charges of grand theft when he refused to release the rifles.

Buker was released after two hours on the advice of district attorney James E. Hamilton, who referred the matter to U.S. Attorney Harry Steward of San Diego. Buker then filed a false arrest suit against the sheriff's office — it is still pending in San Diego Superior Court. District Judge Gordon Thompson Jr. ruled in July that Buker was acting properly in the seizure.

County Counsel James H. Harmon said the judgment "has more serious implications than mere tribal game laws." He argues that the issues are whether Indian tribal wardens are authorized to seize firearms or other property in the enforcement of tribal regulations; whether officers of the U.S. Department of Interior are empowered under federal law to seize property when the seizure is not incident to an arrest; whether Indian game wardens are immune from arrest for crimes committed under state laws, and whether state law enforcement officers can be enjoined from interfering with tribal game wardens when the record shows no actual interference has occurred.

In his arguments, Harmon said the Quechan Tribe and its officers do not possess criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. He said Public Law 280 adopted in 1953 transferred criminal law jurisdiction on Indian lands from federal government to several states, including California.

(Thanks to the San Diego Union for this information.)

THE NORTHWEST



WASHINGTON

Tacoma, Washington — A federal officer was taken hostage at gunpoint and held for more than an hour June 16 as an Indian dispute over a fire-works stand burst into violent confrontation on Puyallup tribal trust land in east Tacoma.

In the end, three men surrendered their weapon and their captive, Captain Robert Moran, a BIA marshal, and were arrested. A fourth suspect escaped but later agreed to surrender himself. There were no shots fired and no injuries.

Charged with assaulting a federal officer, according to U.S. Attorney John Obenour, are Peter, Wilfred, Anthony and Daniel Perry. The four men are from 18 to 21 years old. All were released on their personal recognizance in a preliminary hearing. The four are registered with the Tulalip tribe of Marysville.

The incendiary scenario was played in an epic June downpour before the disbelieving eyes of reporters from the *Tacoma News-Tribune*. It was sparked by a nagging disagreement between Puyallups and the defendants over a fireworks stand.

Tacoma, Washington — A former Indian hospital which had been sold by the U.S. to the state for a juvenile custody center was occupied by Indians again August 11 in a peaceful takeover. The center has been renamed Chief Leschi Medical Center after a leader hanged by white men during an insurrection.

The hospital had been built primarily for treatment of tuberculosis — and when this illness was under control, it was declared surplus and sold to the state for \$1.

However, Ramona Bennett, a member of the Puyallup tribal council, said there was a serious need for a multi-purpose center in the Northwest to provide care for homeless and neglected children, for elderly people, for alcoholism and drug abuse rehabilitation programs, and a variety of other medico-social efforts. Volunteer medical staff agreed to help out until a source of funds could be secured.

Further information on the center can be obtained from the Puyallup Tribal Council's Chief Leschi Indian Medical Building (CLIMB), POBox 1414, Tacoma, Washington 98401 (telephone [206] 572-6425).

Because the Northwest has no Indian hospital, medical services must be contracted out. The Indian Health Service says it is now spending \$4-million annually in the Idaho-Washington-Oregon area.



OREGON - Klamaths

Klamath Falls, Oregon — Annabelle Bates says she will believe it when she sees a \$100,000 check in the mailbox, not before.

Edison Chiloquin doesn't want to see such a check, and plans to tear it up if he gets one.

Helen Merritt shrugs her shoulders and hopes it is all for the best.

They are three of the 600 members of the Klamath people who will share about \$60-million under terms of a bill signed in August by U.S. President Richard Nixon.

The law allows the federal government to buy 136,000 acres of valuable forest lands owned by the Klamaths for addition to the Winema National Forest. And that will close the book on the Klamath Nation.

"The reservation was our birthplace," says Ima Jiminez, who, with her husband, will have \$200,000. "It's our home. Our roots are there. Now there won't be anything."

Officially, the Klamath Nation ended in 1954 with an Act of Congress that terminated it in a move aimed at getting all native people off the reservation and into the melting pot. Each of the 2,000 Klamaths was given a choice at that time: sell his share of the 2.3-million-acre reservation to the government, or lump it into a common trust from which he would continue to receive small regular payments from timber and grazing concessions.

About 1,500 sold then, for \$57,000 each. The land they sold, heavy with valuable timber and teeming with fish and game, became the Winema National Forest. The money went fast for most: Cadillacs were bought for cash, as was liquor by the case. The spending,



Fred Lane (with bullhorn) urging a peaceful and non-violent action in a Muckleshoot fish-in

Washington State Game And Fisheries Departments On Trial

Tacoma, Washington — The Washington state game and fisheries departments are on trial here for robbing 14 Indian tribes of their fishing rights. The suit was filed by the U.S. Government at the insistence of the native peoples affected by the state's efforts to curtail fishing at the "usual and accustomed places."

The trial is before U.S. District Judge George H. Boldt, sitting without a jury. He is being asked to issue an injunction that would halt enforcement of state regulations that prohibit off-reservation fishing.

Much of the suit revolves around three words in a treaty, "in common with." The state says that means the native people are to be treated the same as non-natives and that the state has the right to regulate both groups. The native understanding of the phrase is that they knew that non-natives would be fishing too, and they were willing to share some of the fish with them.

The struggle for fishing rights dates back to 1854, when the Medicine Creek Treaty was signed, taking away the bulk of the Indians' land on Puget Sound. But the treaty did guarantee the native peoples the right to continue fishing — and to defend themselves against those who would interfere with those rights.

Despite a 1968 Supreme Court decision upholding the off-reservation fishing rights, the state of Washington says the native people can fish only on their reservations and then only for a limited amount of fish "so as not to deplete the resources."

The dispute has become bitter. Officers now carry guns when they patrol the banks of the Puyallup and Nisqually Rivers, and one group of 15 agents has received special riot-control training.

The U.S. agreed with the state that the people of Frank's Landing, who have been among the most actively involved in the fishing rights struggles, should not be allowed to intervene in the current suit. Also, in the entire 9 volumes of court documents containing over a thousand pages of material, there is absolutely no mention of the native right to regulate themselves as a sovereign, a principle implicit in the treaties.

squandering, schemes and frauds were the lot of some. Others bought homes, cars, small businesses — mostly by people who moved away, out of Oregon.

Those who refused to sell then formed a trust, which they voted in 1969 to dissolve. They wanted to get control of the land back from the bank handling the trust, and they charged that the bank wasn't managing the land properly. Instead, however, the bank put the land up for sale. Oregon congressmen intervened to keep it in federal ownership — but as a national forest, not a reservation.

Chiloquin, grandson of the Klamath for whom the small hamlet of Chiloquin, Oregon, was named, doesn't want to leave the land. "I know I'm not going to take the money," he said. "It's like selling my people, my dead people."

Mrs. Merritt says she hopes the sale will somehow benefit the younger Klamaths.

"The land is practically useless now because our children have grown up on the streets of every town. They have had movie houses, dance halls. And they learned that kind of life," she says. "They never knew what it was like to live on the farms, on the reservation. They learned to live in the streets."

Klamaths blame the U.S. National Bank of Oregon for much of their troubles. They allege their accounts were

It seems likely that the U.S. will agree on a compromise on how much Indian input there will be in drawing up regulations — there appears to be no question in the mind of the U.S. attorneys about the state's right to regulate Indian fishing.

Some fish are completely banned for Indian fishing and are reserved for sportsmen. Some 100 native people currently face trials for fishing, and the arrests continue as the trial goes on. State officials charge that the tribes don't properly regulate off-reservation fishing, and thus threaten their conservation programs.

At the trial in U.S. District Court, though, biologist and fisheries expert Dr. James Heckman testified to the contrary. The native people know "much more about the fish and fishing than many of us learn in college," he said. According to Heckman's figures, native fishing accounts for only 5 to 6% of the total catch in the area — the rest goes to sports fishing and commercial catches.

Over the past fifty years, the annual salmon catch has dropped from 16-million pounds to three million. The native people point out that construction, removal of gravel from spawning grounds, flooding, and agricultural and industrial pollution have depleted the fish runs — and that native people should not be penalized by the actions of non-natives.

Although it is true the U.S. Government has filed the suit on behalf of the native people, they view the aims of the government with distrust. It was not too long ago that the same government was prosecuting them for their fishing battles. There is the wide-spread belief that the state fisheries department and the federal government are very close to each other in the case.

"They could practically sit down and agree on this case between themselves right now, Fred Lane, a tribal coordinator, charges. He points out that "the state has failed to recognize the fact that the original rights held by the Indians were reserved by themselves in an honored agreement with the federal government while Washington was still a territory."

mismanaged, and that they could not get an accounting of their funds. Widespread price discrimination caused the Federal Trade Commission to hold hearings at Klamath Falls — the price paid by Indians for everything from tires to houses was always jacked up considerably over prices quoted to non-Indians.

Elnathan Davis, president of the Committee to Save the Remaining Klamath Lands, said about the sale, "I'm sick about it. The last of the great Klamath Nation is going. They are taking it like it was a commodity."

In the debate on the bill in the House of Representatives, congressman Harold Froelich urged that the U.S. purchase of the forests be delayed until it was certain that the remaining Klamaths did not want to have their termination reversed.

"I think that we should go back and inform the 500 Indians that there is a possibility of restoration, that there is a program being established to allow Indians to retain their culture and heritage and Indian lands," Froelich urged his colleagues. "Until they are fully informed, Mr. Speaker, it seems that we are going down the wrong road and at too great a speed." He mentioned the current move for restoration of federal status for the Menominees.

(Thanks to Associated Press, United Press International, the Indian Summer Project, and especially to the Militant for the information used here.)

Activism in Oklahoma



OKLAHOMA PEOPLE STILL TRAVELLING ON THE TRAIL OF TEARS: A PERSONAL STATEMENT FROM TULSA

by Marie Arkeketa

I am a member of the American Indian Movement here in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Tulsa AIM chapter started back before election day, although I have been a member of AIM since the Pawnee hair issue. My nephew, Norman New Rider, was kicked out of school for having long hair. I attended the school board meeting at that time, wanting to see for myself what the situation was really like.

Although I grew up in Pawnee, I had hoped to see that the racist attitude of the whites in the town had changed, but to my regret, it had only worsened. It seems ridiculous that in this day and age a small town has minds set to suppress the Indian People.

Anyway, at that time, I saw how we Oklahoma people needed something that would change the ways that we had to live. Something that would give us the determination to be other than second-class citizens, and AIM has given us that chance.

AIM of Tulsa started as the concerned Indian people of northeastern Oklahoma — because in our group, we had representation of 18 different tribes. We were trying to protect and show our support for the Trail of Broken Treaties

Caravan that was barricaded inside the BIA in Washington, D.C. We felt they were in fact speaking for us. We felt if the so-called chiefs and leaders of the tribes had done their jobs for the people there would have been no need for the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan.

The takeover of the BIA was forced upon them, as was everything else in our lives. They went in peace, yet they were met with violence. It was not of their own choosing — they had to protect themselves. The destruction was the pulse of our people. It is the reflection of anger and frustration.

The American Indian Movement is a spiritual movement. All the time we are cleansing ourselves, by bringing back some of the strength of the past and regaining our culture. This spiritual movement can never be conquered by the white man. Our spiritual leaders, with feet planted firmly like roots in the soil of Mother Earth, show us the way.

The American Indian Movement is people from all walks of life. There is great determination in AIM people. We realize that our culture is still being stripped off and our Indian people are still being abused. We are at war with a system that has continually raped our lands,

killed our people, and made us the most poverty-stricken mistreated and suppressed people in the richest nation in the world.

As I write, our people are in Pawhuska, Oklahoma. An Indian lady went into the BIA building there yesterday to do her business. Federal guards, hired by the BIA, tried to force her to sign some papers. When she wouldn't, she was manhandled. Her arm was twisted behind her back and she was hit and pushed out the door.

They keep all BIA doors locked, have armed guards, and papers must be signed when you walk in. This order was put out by a non-Indian for Indian people. Why should we have to be subjected to guns and federal guards?

In Oklahoma, where we have the biggest population of Indian people of any state we, American Indians, must be identified as 'black' or 'white'. They tell us this is for 'racial balance'. Yet we are 'Indian' when it comes time for appropriation funds for schools and government programs. Yet, we have no say where the funds go or how they are spent.

Another thing going on for about five years is the Watchhorn Project. A large reservoir is needed for Pawnee, Payne,

and Noble counties so white people will be able to drink, boat, fish and swim. Our family has land in the area.

The ripping off of Mother Earth is happening again. The Mother whom we love so much, who has provided everything for Indian people since life began. Our land is only a small portion now, and it isn't worth too much in dollars, but to us, it is all we have left of our old people.

On our land we have three graveyards, a town (small, but loved), spiritual grounds and celebration grounds. On this ground we have loved ones not yet forgotten. On this ground we have prayers. On this ground we have cried and many happy times have gone by. Our life is being drained from us rapidly. If they try to take our land, we will be forced to take a stand and try to protect it even if it means dying for it.

The Trail of Tears is what we want to forget — yet we remember everyday because something happens to stir our memories again.

Why? Why!



POOR CREEK FAMILY EVICTED FROM TRIBAL LANDS BY FEDERAL MARSHALS

Hanna, Oklahoma — In August, federal officers swooped down on a farmhouse occupied by the William Billy family and evicted them.

"It's Indian land — I should be able to live there free," Billy said with irritation. He, his wife Nora, and their two teen-age sons have since been camping on the county road under a cottonwood tree near the gate to their former home. He plans to stay there indefinitely.



—Tulsa World photo

William & Nora Billy... "It's Indian Land"

The Billy family moved into the house about 2½ years ago. It is on 3,000 acres owned by the Creek Tribal Council on what is known as the "Hanna Project", located about three miles east of here in McIntosh County. The land is held in trust by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and is leased through a Creek tribal council committee.

Legal action was brought against Billy for failure to pay the \$20-a-month rent required by his lease agreement, and a federal court order for eviction was obtained. Federal marshals went to the one-acre site with a moving truck.

Mr. and Mrs. Billy were away, but they said the marshals did not even allow their sons, Johnny, 19, and Zerndorf, 16, to eat their dinners. The furniture and household goods were loaded on the truck and taken to the old Liberty School, now a community center, about a mile away, and stacked on the lawn. Hard rains came and drenched their possessions.

They live now in a tent loaned to them. Creek neighbors are constantly dropping by to visit.

"They [the federal officers] told me I can't trespass, but I told them I was going to anyway," Billy says. "We gotta feed the chickens and get the eggs," he explains.

According to Billy's way of thinking, he has a right to live on the land.

"My father was a medicine man," he says. "He used to tell me never get mad, but just do what you see is right. Well, we're not angry. And we know we're going to get that house back. We don't have any money for rent. I don't work to make money — I just draw welfare. I hurt my back in 1966 and it's troubled me since. I've had two operations and I'm due for another one. But we don't get much of a check on the welfare."

(Thanks to Pat Crow of the Tulsa Daily World for this article.)

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP SUPPORTS RIGHT OF NATIVE PEOPLE TO HAVE LONG HAIR

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma — The Oklahoma Human Rights Commission urged September 6 that state schools abolish rules forcing native students to cut their hair because those codes "promote racial friction and community divisiveness."

The OHRC said it had received about 30 inquiries on the matter totally from Indian students. The school boards, it said, hadn't asked for any advice whatsoever.

Dress codes which deny Indian students the right to wear their hair "in the style they choose" should be reconsidered, the policy said, with a "view toward abolishment" because they:

- "make no demonstrated contribution to the group's or individual's learning process and do not appear to be related to the goals of quality education;
- "deny Indian individuals and groups the expression of racial heritage and tradition;
- "inhibit the right of self-expression, individual dignity and pride, a right which in no way in-

fringes upon the rights of any other individuals or groups;

— "inhibit the development of an appreciation and understanding of cultural pluralism in our society."

During an OHRC meeting in August, a native member of the commission, Mrs. Juanita Learned of Oklahoma City, told members that the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission had taken a similar stance on the hair issue but had pulled back when the governor's office expressed disapproval.

The OHRC said it would not bend to political pressure. It also said it was not making a legal judgment, but was looking at the matter in its social context. "The need to encourage, not discourage, the efforts of racial minorities to visibly express pride in their various heritages is the obligation of a multi-racial society," the OHRC policy states. "There must be no attempt to force them into a mold which serves no purpose other than that of creating conformity in a society which is based on the recognition and encouragement of individualism."

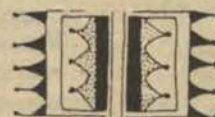
(Thanks to the Tulsa Daily World for this information.)

Those Valuable 2nd Class Citizens

The Oklahoma Human Rights Commission has issued a report alleging that Anadarko, Okla., residents treat Indians like "second class citizens."

Mayor Ed Otey disagrees emphatically. "Basically, let's treat all white people like Indians, or treat the Indians like white people — put them to work and have them pay taxes," was the mayor's comment.

City Manager Bill McClure also denied the criticisms. "I think the tourism [the Indians] create here and the dollars and cents that turn over as a result is one of the greatest assets the city has," he said.



Anadarko is the home of the American Indian Exposition and Indian City USA attractions. The commission said Anadarko residents have "fully recognized in a commercial context" the beauty and worthwhile values inherent in Indian culture, but not in the framework of day-to-day relations between the races."

(Thanks to United Press International for this report.)

Can a Student Wear A Crucifix?

(Ever wonder what some white folks, particularly school board officials, seem to have against Indians wearing long hair? Recently, when there were protests at Pawnee, Oklahoma, on the issue, the Pawnee District School Board issued this statement.)

We, the members of the Pawnee Board of Education, stand for quality education with equal treatment for all students regardless of race, color, or creed. . .

We feel that dress and mannerism are part of a good, well-rounded education. The code is necessary to carry on the academic program because of over-crowded classrooms.

Teachers have so many outside duties that they have to carry on rules and regulations to carry on a mature atmosphere of learning.

Outside influence and militant organizations which literally thrive on this type of controversy have been responsible for the major portion of our problems. . . We flatly deny these charges and welcome investigation to prove they are false. But we also ask that the organizations that are behind these charges be investigated to account for the sources of their finances and an accounting of how their funds are spent.

Our student body is composed of three ethnic groups, and to go along with the suggestions represented by those supporting long hair for three Indian students would be an antithesis of equality and everything the constitution stands for. It would represent discrimination most assuredly, and possibly the bringing of religious practices into the school since religious tradition is one of their contentions to have the long hair. Bringing religion into the public schools has been ruled unconstitutional.



Bill In Congress Could Restore Menominee Status

Keshena, Wisconsin — Vine Deloria, Jr., well-known native author, heaped praises on the Menominee group, DRUMS, at its annual convention August 16.

He said that DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity of Menominee Stockholders) and other Menominees had unified for support of a Congressional bill which would restore the Menominee people to federal recognition.

That status was lost in 1961 by act of Congress under a termination-minded administration. The result, many say, was economic disaster for the Menominees. The new bill is still pending in Congress, but stands a good chance for passage.

Deloria said the bill, when enacted, would begin a "whole new era of Indian affairs — it means the federal government is finally recognizing its responsibilities and obligations to Indians."

DRUMS was organized four years ago to oppose the sale of Menominee land to non-Menominees for the Legend Lake recreation home project. At this convention, Ralph Reiter of Keshena was elected president. He is a student at the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh.

On September 29, the House Interior Committee approved a bill to restore Federal services to the Menominees. Ada Deer, chairman of the Menominee Common Stock and Voting Trust, has been lobbying the bill through Congress.

Her activities were praised by Rep. Lloyd Meeds, chairperson of the House Indian Affairs subcommittee. "I don't know anyone who could have brought that bill so far so fast. The Menominees were a dead issue before she began working on it," he said, referring to Ada Deer.

The bill, as it was reported out of Meeds' committee, however, seemed far from satisfactory. Three amendments were added on which make the restoration of services contingent upon the transfer of Menominee land back into trust status, which give the final restoration of rights under the new law higher authority than the treaties and aboriginal rights, and which give non-Indians hunting and fishing rights.

The Menominees say they want all the rights and privileges back as a People that they had before they were terminated — without any qualifications.

Ada Deer, who says she has faith in the Congress, "calls on all Indian individuals and tribal groups to begin writing letters to their Senators and Congressmen in support of the Menominee restoration."

She will be keynote convention speaker at the National Congress of American Indians annual convention in Tulsa, Oklahoma, October 28, which is expected to lend backing to the Menominee cause.

The Menominees have always, it seems, lived in what is now Wisconsin. In 1854, they entered into a treaty with the U.S., ceding their claim to all their land except for 234,000 acres along the Wolf River.

By the 1950s, the Menominee had become, on paper at least, one of the most prosperous tribes in the U.S. They had an excellent sustained-yield forest and a saw mill to harvest it, and \$10-million on deposit in the Federal Treasury. Three-quarters of this money came from a law suit it won in 1951 against the BIA for its mismanagement of the forest.

The Menominees wanted to give each tribal member \$1,500 of this money as a boost to self-help housing improvement. But this would require an act of Congress because of the federal trusteeship the U.S. claimed over the Menominees.

The appropriate legislation was introduced in Congress in 1953, and it soon passed the House. When it reached the Senate, however, an amendment was added to provide for the termination of all federal relationships. Senators pointed out that the Menominees had enough money now, were sufficiently integrated into American society — and if they wanted any part of the \$10-million, they would have to agree to become an ordinary part of the state. No longer would their land be a reservation, and no longer would the U.S. recognize the Menominees as Indians.

(Further information on the Menominee's drive to restore its federal status can be obtained by ordering the book, FREE-DOM WITH RESERVATION, from them at National Comm. to Save the Menominees, 520 University Ave., Madison, Wisc.)

But in 1954, the Menominee Termination Act was passed. The tribal roll was closed, and the Menominees were ordered to produce a termination plan. The final plan was approved in 1961. A corporation, Menominee Enterprises, Inc., was established to manage the tribal assets — the forest, sawmill, public utilities, and land. Each enrolled Menominee was given 100 shares of stock in this corporation.

Within a few years, however, payment of termination costs exhausted the \$10-million in the treasury. The assets of the corporation proved to be insufficient to establish it on a sound economic footing. The ending of BIA services has meant the closing of the Indian school and hospital, which has meant most Menominee children must go to neighboring Shawano County for their education, and there is difficulty in obtaining adequate health and dental care.

The Menominee Reservation became Menominee County, one of the smallest and poorest in Wisconsin. As a county, the Menominees now had to meet state standards in all services they provided. This meant large initial expenditures, subsidized by both state and federal funds. Since 1961, the Federal Government has had to spend over \$12,000,000 and the State of Wisconsin over \$7,000,000 to keep Menominee County functioning. That means the American taxpayer has spent over \$19-million to support a tribe that before termination was able to pay for its own support.

Even so, basic services have been lacking, and in order to try to get additional funds, the Menominees had to sell some of their land. Over 5,800 acres has now passed out of Menominee hands.

Restoration for the Menominees could start a trend. Senator Dewey Bartlett, an Oklahoma Republican, hinted during the hearings that he may seek the same sort of legislation for three terminated Oklahoma tribes.

Support in the Senate came from Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, who said "it is imperative that the process of Menominee restoration become the pressing issue for every legislator this year."

Most observers hope that the Menominee restoration will make Indians breathe more easily, and that they will no longer worry about termination. That may be the case, but there are two other over-riding factors:

- it now seems more convenient for corporate-government alliances to exploit Indian lands when the U.S. still has a trust foothold, and
- what the Congress giveth, the Congress can take away.

(Thanks to American Indian Press Association and the Washington Post for this information.)

Lac Courte Oreilles Fight For Return Of Land

Hayward, Wisconsin — Fifty-two years ago, the Lac Courte Oreilles Anishnawbeg lost some 6,000 acres of land, including a 170-year-old village, when government agencies in Washington decided the land was needed to help generate electric power.

Two years ago, there was a demonstration on the site, when the fifty-year lease was expiring. Now, the Northern States Power Company is trying to get the Federal Power Commission to renew the lease, and the Anishnawbeg have taken their grievance to those hearings. This time, they have support of several environmental groups — not to mention other native people and some white residents of the Hayward, Wisconsin, area.

If they are successful, the Chippewa Flowage, some 28,000 acres of land in northwestern Wisconsin, will be taken from under the control of Northern States Power and will be managed by the U.S. Forest Service and the Lac Courte Oreilles people. The area is spectacularly beautiful. There are hundreds of islands, inlets, and bays — half the area is above water. It is the home of numerous fish and birds and animals.

The dam there is used to insure a more even flow of water — there are no power generating plants on the flowage itself. NSP says it manages the area well — mostly by leasing out land to white people for cabins, resorts, and homes. The white residents have formed a committee, The Concerned Citizens, to support NSP.

The native people say the rising and lowering of the water level is not good for the ecology — for instance, wild rice, a staple of the native diet, has completely disappeared from the flowage since it was flooded. Shoreline erosion is speeded, and fish growth is affected.

Prior to the 1750s, the area was populated primarily by Lakotas. But as the Anishnawbeg were pushed westward by European expansion, they moved onto Lakota lands and there was conflict. Eventually, the Anishnawbeg secured their hold on northern Wisconsin and northeastern Minnesota and villages were established.

Soon, however, the European expansion caught up with them again. By the treaty of 1837, the Anishnaw-

beg, by then known as the "Chippewa Nation", ceded 13,644,870 acres of northern Wisconsin to the federal U.S. government for \$870,000 — just 6½ cents an acre. They reserved the right to hunt, fish, and harvest wild rice on the land, or at least until such time as the President of the U.S. might tell them to leave.

Five years later, by the treaty of 1842, the Anishnawbeg ceded 10,500,000 acres in northern Wisconsin and Northern Michigan for a little better deal — the price figures out to about 8 cents an acre. By the treaty of 1854, another 5,876,435 acres of northern Minnesota were sold for 8.3 cents an acre.

Sometime after the treaty of 1842, the President of the U.S. told the Chippewas in northern Wisconsin to get out. They should move west again, he said. Some tribal members went to see the lands they were supposed to move to, and reported back that these lands were unfit for human habitation.

The villages refused to move, and it appeared another war might be imminent. But by the treaty of 1854, almost all remaining land was taken over by the U.S. in exchange for the establishment of reservations in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota.

That treaty had this provision: "And the Indians shall not be required to remove from the lands that are hereby set aside for them."

But in 1887, Congress passed the infamous Dawes act, under which individual tribal members were given title to specific pieces of the land, together with the right to sell. Most reservations were soon checkerboarded with non-Indian ownership.

Ward Winton, now age 78, was a young attorney working for the state of Wisconsin when the NSP pressured through the lease in 1921. He said that the Anishnawbeg had voted to reject the power company's offer. They pointed to an 1854 treaty, which guaranteed them permanent homes on the reservation. But, often benefiting from fraudulent real estate tactics, the NSP went ahead. Many graves were flooded.

Winton says real estate agents fraudulently bought land from individual Indians, and then sold it to the power company. He investigated some of those cases on behalf of the state, and succeeded in getting some of the sales nullified. The real estate company eventually lost its license with the state because of its fraudulent practices, but it was too late to help many families who lost their land.

Winton described the village of Pakwawong before the flowage came in and the land was flooded. He said it

was a beautiful peaceful place, with buildings made of squared logs and bearing "the patina of great age."

The Indian position was opposed in the FPC hearings by the such as Tony Jonjak, chairman of the Sawyer County Board, who said that the Northern States Power Company pays taxes, and the Indians don't. Robert Hurrwachter, a substantial stockholder in NSP, said the FPC was wasting its time and taxpayers' money by even having the hearings. "The FPC has neither the authority nor the funds to venture into this field." He said the lands could be returned only by act of Congress.

The FPC is more accustomed to disputes between contending power companies. It has never before returned land. Some say that Congress might have to step in with a solution, and maybe the matter will end up in the courts. But for the time being, the case is with the FPC which is continuing its hearings.

Before 1921, the Anishnawbeg at Lac Court Oreilles were harvesting over 12 ton of wild rice annually. (Rice is now worth about 90 cents a pound green, and about \$3 a pound finished, wholesale. Retail prices can go as high as \$6 a pound.) But the fluctuation in water levels caused by power needs has prevented the establishment of natural wild rice stands.

Rick Baker, tribal chairman, told the FPC that wild rice has religious and social significance to his people, as well as providing a necessary food staple. "If wild rice fields were reintroduced in the flowage, we could have a total regeneration," Baker said. Recapture of the flowage would "go a long ways to reducing the alienation process that faces my people today."

The Lac Courte Oreilles also strengthened their hold on their land in September by banning hunting and fishing on the reservation to nontribal members. About 44,100 acres of the reservation is owned by the tribe in trust of the U.S., while the balance of the 70,000-acre site is owned by non-Indians.

Baker said that with the "cost of food and mounting inflation, we feel that it is justified to preserve the resources of our membership." He said the move was necessary to prevent the wholesaling off of the resources for the benefit of the few who would profit by non-resident tourist dollars.

(Thanks to James Parsons of the Minneapolis Tribune, the Pioneer Press News Service, and George Johnson of the Duluth News-Tribune for this information.)

Cochise College is initiating a program to give native people a working knowledge in archaeological and/or small museum methods and techniques. BIA financing is available. Contact: Richard D. Myers, Archaeology Resource Center, Cochise College, Douglas, Arizona 85607.

The national conference of the North American Indian Women's Association will be held in 1974 at Sisseton, South Dakota on June 20-22. There were 400 delegates to this year's meet in Montana. Agnes Dill of New Mexico was elected president.



Interested in helping the only Indian radio station in the U.S.? It needs money and other stuff. Contact Kim Hodgson, KTDB, Mexico 87321. It serves the Uine people of the area in a unique form of people's broadcasts.

Lincoln C. White, of St. Regis, has been appointed to the newly-created position of supervisor of native American education for New York State's Department of Education. He had served 16-years as district principal of the Marcellus, N.Y., Central School system.



The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Indian Affairs wants to locate Indian people who are qualified to be included in a listing which will be made available to organizations requesting names for positions, advisory committees, etc. Send names, birth-date and place, education/training, professional background and special interests to George Clark, Director, Office of Indian Affairs, HEW, Room 3514 North Building, 330 Independence Ave. SW, Washington, D.C. 20201.

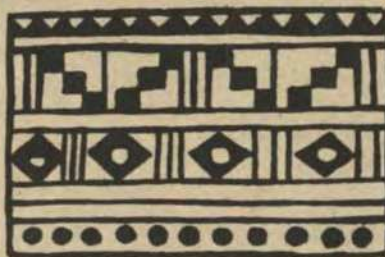
Alfonso Ortiz, of the Tewa Nation at San Juan Pueblo and an associate professor of anthropology at Princeton University, was elected president of the Association on American Indian Affairs by the board of directors on May 8. The Association has set as its major and immediate goal the comprehensive implementation of Indian self-determination in all its aspects.

The Bishop, California, public school system wants credentialed native teachers to work with Paiute/Shoshone students and families. Bishop has to be seen to be believed: it's the gateway to the Sierras with desert air and skiing still 30 minutes away. Contact Dan R. Bomberry, Owens Valley Indian Education Center, POBox 1648, Bishop, Cal. 93514. Phone: (714) 873-5740.

St. Lawrence University has received a \$50,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to fund a special services program to provide counseling and tutorial instruction for all Indian college students enrolled in New York State colleges and universities.

Money seems to be worth so little these days there are other things that make better stealing, like native jewelry, rugs, and other crafts that bring high speculative prices on the European markets. Black Bear Bosin's studio in Kansas, for instance, was robbed of thousands of dollars of these items in September. Big business comes to the reservation.

Ramah Navajo High School, operated under Navajo control, is publishing a magazine, *Tsá'áshí*. Students are conducting taped interviews with Navajo people, and photographing them for feature articles. The magazine will also have Navajo remedies, recipes, how to use plants, and Navaho folklore. The first issue is out, and a one year subscription is \$6. Write The Magazine, Ramah Navajo High School, Ramah, New Mexico.



The Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library will offer seven fellowships (3 post-doctoral and 4 doctoral) to work in the field of Native American Indian history. The deadline for filing applications is January 31, 1974. For further information, write Center for the History of the American Indian, Newberry Library, 60 W. Walton St., Chicago, Ill. 60610.

Native people willing to admit they are U.S. citizens, who have a degree, and want their names listed in a "Professional Resource Directory", can have their skills entered on the computers of: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Special Projects, Division of Indian Studies, 203 San Pablo SE, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108.

An AIM Media Workshop sponsored by the Kashia, California, chapter will be held October 27-28 with representatives of established media to discuss funding, coverage, distribution, techniques, and the basics of public relations work and news coverage. Contact (707) 874-3089 for further details.

Harvard's Graduate School of Education is starting its recruitment for next year, with a January 15 deadline. Write for forms and information to: American Indian Program, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Or call: (617) 495-4912.



New Yorkers will be glad to know about the Intertribal Corn Festival to be held at St. Benedicts Hall, Merrick Blvd. & 110 Ave in Jamaica, Long Island. It's to be Sunday, Oct 21, from 1 to 6 p.m. Contact Helen Chaney at OL 8-0576 after 5 p.m. for info.

Oklahoma native people will have instant legal advice available through the Legal Aid Hot Line, a toll-free number. The program has already attracted nationwide interest, and is sponsored by the Jim Thorpe Estate. The service will cover estates and wills, criminal matters, civil situations and family cases. The number: 800-522-2790.

An Indian Construction Trades Program will begin at Lassen Community College in Susanville, California in February, 1974. The vocational program will be in carpentry and plumbing, and is for students 18-years-old and over. Further information is available from Michael Melendez, Intertribal Council Office, 1970 Main St., Susanville, California 96130. Telephone (916) 257-4196.

HOW I SPENT MY SUMMER VACATION

A NOTES READER HELPS US OUT

(Earlier this year, Dean Hansell, a NOTES reader made arrangements to visit us in August to help out. He is retiring student body president of Denison University in Ohio, and he wrote this account of his experiences.)

I had been a reader of NOTES for about two years prior to my visit, and had a pretty fair objective understanding of the situation of the North American Indian today, but lacked any understanding of the spirit behind the issues.

My initial reaction in meeting people at Mohawk Nation House (where NOTES is assembled) was one of challenge. Here was a group of exceptional native Americans, young and old, who had managed to work out certain questions of man that many of us have sought so long for. My sense of challenge was gradually replaced by a feeling of awe. Then the realization that my questions could never be answered by other people.

"Your intellectual questioning," one young Mohawk said to me, "will only bring you more questions, because ours is a knowledge of the heart, rather than the mind, and it is a knowledge that we do not learn from other people."

As I looked to the Creation to find answers, I came to another realization — the awareness of my alienation from nature. I have always spent a great deal of time out of doors, but my relationship with my environment has been one of conquest, of meeting the challenges that nature placed in my path. But this is not the Indian way, I discovered. It is in co-existence with nature that man understands Creation, and in understanding Creation, man understands himself.

My stay at the Nation House has provided me with a greater understanding of the Indian quest for the way

of the old ones. The clashes with whites and assimilated Indians have also become more understandable and justified. I am now of the belief that what the Indians did at Alcatraz, during the BIA Headquarters takeover, and at Wounded Knee 1973, was essential in their quest to re-establish their integrity as a people.

Mohawk Nation House, where I stayed, is an under-sized, over-crowded building which is headquarters for AKWESASNE NOTES, the paper's other activities, and many Mohawk traditional people. Available couches, floorspace, and some beds accommodate many of the staff people and the additional people that are ever-present.

A typical day for NOTES begins at varying times for different people. Editor Rarihokwats is normally the first one to work at 7 a.m., and he is soon joined by various others.

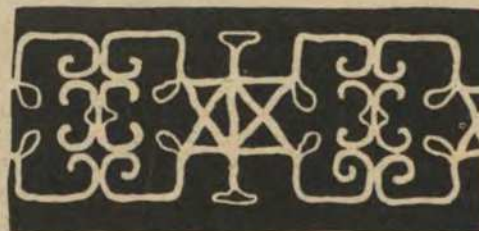
The work I did consisted in background research for news articles. In addition, I served as book-keeper, writer, proof-reader for a soon-to-be-published book, and handled correspondence.

As a small contributor to NOTES, I was curious as to how their money was spent, and the results of my search were rather surprising. Each issue costs roughly \$5,000 just for printing and postage and supplies. The staff members receive no pay. Sales of books and crafts offset the cost of the Nation House itself.

Each day would bring numerous local people to Nation House to work on various projects, to resolve problems, to mooch a meal, or just to sit and talk. The people come in all assorted sizes, shapes, ages, and personalities, but the one common factor I perceived of them all is that they are Indian 24 hours a day. This constant condition of being aware of one's existence constantly was particularly strong with the young. In Akwesasne, I met Dakota, Mohawk, Oneida, Ojibwa,

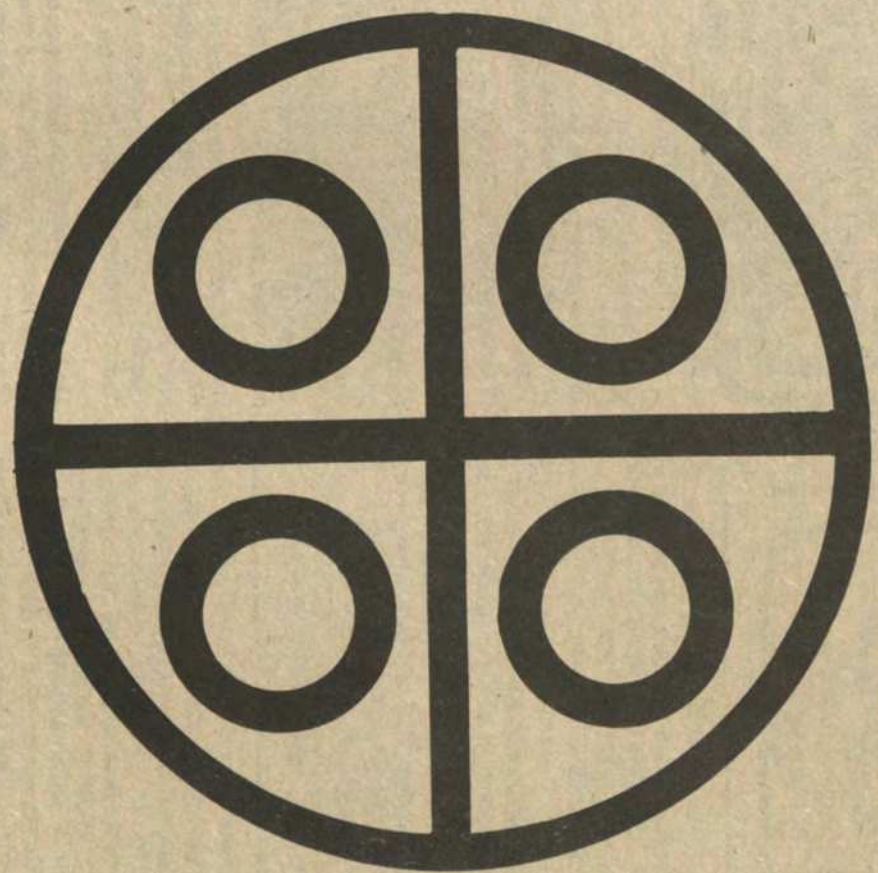
Algonquin, Huron, Lapplander, Tuscaroras, and in each case I found them seeking for the same thing: the traditional way.

Many of the people I talked to were not even in their teens. Some had rarely been off their reservation, and yet they seemed to display an awareness and a sensitivity to life that excelled the experience of non-Indians five or six times that age.



I leave Nation House fundamentally changed and challenged. I leave too with one suggestion to others: if one truly seeks to aid the Indian, or to find out about the Indian, the NOTES office is not necessarily the place to come. The kind of additional help the paper needs is highly-specialized, and the people here are not a cross-section of native people, but representatives of the socially active ones.

If people are truly interested in aiding the paper, the areas of need I perceive are those of fund raising, consciousness raising in your own communities, and of providing news, photos, and tapes of events of interest in your own areas. Perhaps to attempt to become involved directly would do a disservice to the paper which already feels its efficiency hampered by the large number of visitors who drop by and to whom hospitality must be extended.



"I must continue to lead my people on the road the Great Spirit made for us to travel. We will meet many obstacles along the way. The peaceful way of life can be accomplished only by people with strong courage, and by the purification of all living things."

— Dan Katchongva

Dan Katchongva was a leader of the Sun Clan of the Hopi Nation. He was the son and successor of Yukiama. He passed into the spirit world in February, 1972. The quotation is from his "Message to All People", published by AKWESASNE NOTES (\$1). This poster is one of a series available on heavy poster paper for 3 for \$1, all of one kind, or a mixed set. Add 25 cents if you wish a mailing tube. AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683.

A South American Survey

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil — The outlook for the native people of South America is bad. Increasingly, they are being cut off from the natural economy that has sustained their lives for so long, and it is unlikely that they will be able to participate in the new economy controlled by those who now govern them.

Now, native people are just 7% of the population — still, that is 14 million people. Mostly, they are desperately poor when "civilization" has landed on them, or desperately harassed in their efforts to keep intruders away. Scientists say they are victims of genocide — extermination of an entire race.

Smiling clerks in airports and curio shops may rave about their nations' "Indian heritage". But most European-descended inhabitants of South America are barely conscious of the Indians and their situation.

Peru, the center of the Inca empire, has the most native people left: 6.3 million out of its total present population of 14 million. Some live in squalid slums in coastal cities, while others tend llama herds or farm wretched plots in the frozen reaches of the Andes Mountains.

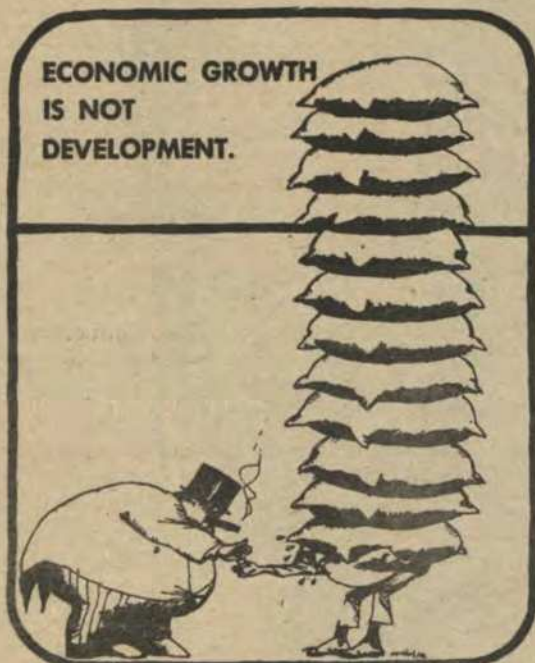
Bolivia — Same Problems, Just Worse

Bolivia has 3 million native people among its 5 million inhabitants. Most speak Quechua or another Incan language, Aymara. Ninety per cent do not read or write but the most severe problem is health — more infants die than live, it seems, and survivors can't expect to live much past 40.

A revolution 21 years ago broke up all the big land holdings in Bolivia, and divided them among the Indians. But there are no means for economically-productive agriculture, and the small individual farms are inefficient.

At least Bolivia's native people are not called "Indios" — which has an insulting connotation. Now they are called "campesinos" — farmers.

Superficially, there are signs of "progress" — bicycles, transistors, electricity, running water. The government has a special department, calling it, of course, the Department for Campesino Affairs, and it permits Campesinos to vote. However, the native influence in government — despite the population majority — is small.



Cladius Ceccon, Prensa Latina

Ecuador — High-Sounding Promises

Ecuador has about 2.1 million native people in a population of 6 million. They are generally looked down on as "Indios", despite high-sounding promises by that nation's military government "to make life better for the Indians."

White Ecuadorean land owners don't think much of talk about a possible takeover of big estates to provide land for Indians. But a big new oil strike in Ecuador may — indirectly — help Indians. The Ecuadorian government should get an extra \$120-million a year from drilling concessions, which it says it will spend on education, agriculture, and electrification. Similar promises to share oil wealth, such as in the North West Territories, have failed to impress native people.

Chile — Fate of Native People Now Doubtful

During the era of democratically-elected Marxist president Salvador Allende of Chile, there were promises of better days ahead for the 500,000 Mapuche people who make up just 5% of the population. Now that rightist forces are running rampant in the country backed with U.S.-supplied military equipment, their future is uncertain. But then, this will not be the first time their land has been taken over. Allende's socialist agrarian reform program, though, certainly will be quashed.

Mapuches are the descendants of the Araucanians, said to be the one nation in South America the Spanish con-

quistadores couldn't conquer. They killed Spanish pioneer Pedro de Valdivia in 1554 — one legend has it that he was forced to drink molten gold — and it wasn't until 1883 that whites finally settled the area around Temudo.

But Mapuche poverty is severe. Those migrating to the cities get the lowest-paying jobs, while white Chileans look down on them and make fun of their native names. Scientists minimize the problem by underestimating native numbers, saying there are "only 10,000 left."



— Associated Press photo
Urban Guaranis begging on a Sao Paulo, Brazil, corner — the Guaranis are officially "pacified" and "integrated".

The Mapuches were part of the surge to take over the haciendas from the large land-owners of southern Chile — and it would be unlikely that they would escape with the Socialist and Communist leaders to Argentina or other asylum. Whether they face reprisals at the hands of the rightists is not known.

Large landowners have been promised the return of their land which had been distributed to peasants organized into state cooperatives. Books are being burned, and the reign of terror has meant the deaths of as many as 30,000 people.

In the area of Puraquina, in Gautin, arms were found buried on a Mapuche reservation. All the male Mapuche the military could catch were killed or severely beaten.



Colombia — The survivors still die

Colombia has a population now of 23 million, with 179,000 surviving native people. The number keeps going down. The natives are at the mercy of ruthless crooked peddlers, settlers, and white men's diseases. There is little organized protection for them.

Colombian Indians continue to be killed. Some are sold as slaves on rubber plantations in the remote Vaupes district.

In 1967, for instance, white settlers invited 19 Cuiba people to a Christmas "party". When the Indians, including women and children — came for food that had been laid out, the whites slaughtered them with rifles and machetes and then burned the bodies. There was one survivor, and eventually, the settlers were arrested.

However, when they came to trial, the jury acquitted them on the defense that the defendants "did not know killing Indians was a crime." The judge, later, ruled that the verdict was counter to evidence, and ordered a new trial which is to take place this Autumn.

On July 15, 7000 Colombian native people met and issued an appeal for all Indians to join in unified struggle for their human rights. Speakers at the meeting denounced big landlords, reactionary church officials, and called for the return of their land, an end to colonial taxes, release of political native prisoners, and the right to live their own culture.

Paraguay — an Indian nation with oppression

The subjection of the Indian peasants in Paraguay is absolute: culturally (although they are about 80% Guaraní speaking) the Spanish culture and school system are forced on them, educating them to passive submission. Economically, they have been pushed out of their lands as well as being at the mercy of dealers who exploit them financially.

Paraguay, a largely undeveloped jungle country in the middle of South America, has a unique native makeup. Almost all of its 2 million people are descendants in some degree of the original Guaraní Nation. Both Guaraní and Spanish are official languages in Paraguay, and many white-looking Paraguayans speak the two interchangeably. Still, there have been reports of military concentration-camp-like reservations, and widespread deaths among those Guaranis who hold to their original ways.

Politically and militarily, they are supervised by the troops of the central government and political appointed officials. For a long time, the Christian Churches contributed to the pacification of the Indians through religious oppression as well.

Now, however, the priests who serve the Guaraní are realizing that spiritual and material liberation on the personal and collective level could only be achieved by winning over to the cause of the people those forces which are at present supporting the "system."

According to Miguel Chase-Sardi, a Paraguayan expert on native peoples, in a survey published earlier in 1972, only 411 Guayakies are left. They are scattered over thousands of square miles of eastern Paraguay around the Guayra Falls on the Parana River, which are soon to be harnessed for power production.

The tribe has a reputation for independence — and a history of frequent attacks on them. They are a stocky, light-skinned people. Up to last year, the town of San Juan Nepomuceno was the center of a slave trade — it was possible to buy a Guayaki for a pittance.

In October, 1971, for instance, a Chilean entomologist, Luis Pena, who was doing research for Peabody Museum of Yale University, reported that he had been offered boys for sale at prices ranging from \$18 to \$72.

The cultural starvation is perhaps even more extreme. For native people in the Mennonite-controlled plantations, working, eating, sleeping and a Sunday football game seem to be the only activities. Indians are not permitted to sing or dance, to leave the camp at night, or to speak to Mennonite girls. The Mennonites generally refer to the Indian people as *de swartse* (the black ones).

Aside from all this, the other exploitation comes from the military, who control Paraguay. Notably the Tapiete Indians have been reduced to complete dependence on the military, who regard them as their personal property.

The officers of Mcal. Estigarribia (in the center of the Chaco) settled the Tapiete on a place unfit for agriculture, so they are forced to work for them. The women wash clothes in the private houses of the officers, and serve at the same time as prostitutes. Their payment is one meal daily and 600 guaraní (\$4) monthly. The men cut lawns and fetch firewood for one meal daily and 100 guaraní a month (less than \$1). Some observers say that while soldiers could be used to do the same work, the Indians fill the psychological needs of most military people: human beings they can completely dominate by causing complete dependency.



Argentina — 23 million people gone

Argentina has only 200,000 native people left out of a total population of 23 million. The Argentine Army methodically went about wiping out as many Indians as it could in massive Custer-like raids in the south in the late 1800s.

Delegates to an Indian convention in 1971 counted the surviving members of many Patagonian tribes on their fingers: two Yamanas, five Guma Kenas, three Vilelos, and nine Onas. "The best we can expect is a future as farmhands," Canuto Rodriguez states. "We're the cheapest labor in Argentina."

Argentina steadfastly denies any racial problem, and usually dismisses as "seasonal foreign labor" or as "illegal immigrants" the several hundred thousand native people on its reservations.

However, the recent explosion of "villas miserias" around the country's major cities has evoked comment on the shocking discovery that Argentina is not entirely the "European country that is in Latin America as an accident of geography" as is the common saying there.

In the last twenty years, almost six million people have emigrated to Argentina — most of the newcomers were from neighboring countries with a high percentage of Indian or part-Indian people.

PERU



"You Are No Longer Indians.... You Are Now Farmers"

Lima, Peru — It is one thing to remake a society with decrees issued, and enforced by concentrated power, something which the Peruvian military government has been doing for the last four years.

It is a different matter to try to make the reforms take root and last by involving the people in them, and then turning power over to them. This is what Peru's leaders say they will do — beginning this year.

That means upsetting the ancient social order of the Andean Indians — over half the population of 13.5 million — as well as the 400-year-old Spanish social order which the Indians have survived, but not helped shape.

From the Indian viewpoint, all the economic and political analyses made of the country seem to forget that the bedrock of the nation, the native peoples, comprise more than half the population. The Indian peoples of Peru live largely by agriculture in the Andean highlands and in the Amazonian lowlands. They are principally Quechua and Aymara-speaking peoples. And their political, social, and economic institutions are organized by principles and values radically different from those held by the peoples of European origin.

From the Indian perspective then, the present government, while clearly more benevolent, more nationalistic and perhaps more just than any other previous government, is nonetheless simply the latest in a long line of colonialist administrations governing occupied peoples in occupied territory. This government, like all previous ones, is composed only of non-Indian peoples and represents the interests of only non-Indian people. None of the new reforms make any attempt to return any power to the Indian peoples.

In fact, the present government has attempted to legitimize the colonialist situation by performing a simple linguistic *coup de grace* on the Indian peoples. It was no coincidence that the President chose June 24, "The Day of the Indian", to announce the Agrarian Reform Law in 1969.



People of the Andes in Traditional Dress — note the style of the hats, another custom borrowed by Europe.

On this occasion, the President proudly announced from that day forward, there would be no such thing as "Indios" in Peru. Henceforth, they would be known as "campesinos" — farmers.

Perhaps one of the most obvious manifestations of the internal colonialism in Peru and one of the ironies of the government is the Army itself. The officers corps, those who run the military machine and the present government, are drawn exclusively from the non-Indian peoples. They form a sharp contrast to the foot soldiers whose bronze bearded faces mark their origins as clearly as do the bearded white faces of the officers.

Recruitment patterns of the Indian foot soldiers are often brutal. Physical force is sometimes used to round up and remove young men from their communities. Once in the military, they are subjected to training and pressure aimed at destroying their cultural background and identity. They are taught contempt for their Indian heritage.

A rich Peruvian, relaxing before dinner in his glass-and-marble house in a walled garden, said the other night, "Something must be done, otherwise Peru will be lost." The regime intends to change forever the Peru in which he grew up, surrounded by Indian servants, to become a leading bank director and to breed race horses.

But the generals, colonels, and the other officers who run the ministries, factories, and Government offices and programs also are from one of the small groups that have had power in Peru. By social origin, education and income they, too, are an elite. And in four years of Government, they have demonstrated that they are willing to sponsor radical change — up to a point.

The military has removed statues of Pizarro, the Spanish conqueror, from plazas in Lima and in other cities and towns. The full-length portrait of the conqueror that hung behind the President's desk has also been removed. In place of Pizarro are countless statues of Tupac Amaru.

Peruvian radio and other media devote large amounts of time and space to recalling the glories of the Inca and other pre-Columbian cultures that had been almost obliterated by law and sword after four centuries of "Hispanization".

Probably the best example of how the military's unusual ideology and cautious revolution works is a huge sheep-ranching complex, covering 540,000 usable acres, and supporting 3,026 families in the high Andes east of Lima. Comprising seven modern and efficient ranches and 16 "backward" Indian communities, it is now called the Tupac Amaru Agricultural Society of Social Purpose.



The aim is that all the ranches, seized from the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, are to produce as profitably as possible. The profits are invested in social and economic development projects in the 16 Indian communities.

Thus, theorists explain, the social purpose of agrarian reform is served without dividing up the Indians' land into small peasant holdings that would cause meat and wool production to drop catastrophically for the rest of the society.

"There are great social and technical gulfs between the ranches and the communities," said Oscar Rizo Patron, a young agronomist who is acting manager of the complex. "We are trying to eliminate slowly these gulfs."

Governing councils, partly composed of Indian peasants have devised solutions to the problem of more people on the bleak mountain lands than sheep-ranching alone can support well. The complex is planning a trout farm and a project to settle and make into a ranch a jungle tract on the eastern Andean slopes.

Economically, the plan to put profits into roads, medical services, new breeding rams and training courses for the Indian communities is working.

As the aims of ranching have changed, so have the owners. Indian men, wearing somber woolen suits, woolen sweaters and open necked shirts, represent their communities with great formality. But the underlying social structure has not changed.

Mr. Rizo Patron, the acting manager hired by the society, is tall and white-skinned. The short clerical workers have the light brown skins of the mestizos, who have mediated between upper and lower classes in Peru for centuries. They speak Spanish clearly.

The small, stocky field hands have the high cheekbones, sharp prominent noses, and the purple-brown skin of Andean Indians. Their Spanish is sometimes halting and accented with the sounds of Quechua, the Indian language.

"We cannot change a 400-year-old system in just two or three years we have been here," Mr. Rizo Patron said. "What is really important for me is knowing that you are trying and that you, personally, are making a difference."

On the cold, high peaks and plateaus of the Andes, where the wind cuts like a knife, some Indian communities seem unaware of the Government's plans — where they are aware, they seem wary.

"There never was much politics in the Indian communities, voting-type politics," said Jesus Yarasca, president of the administrative council of Chacapalpa, a sheep-herding community of 300 families on a mountain saddle 13,200 feet up. "Whatever Government came, we just had to suffer along with it. Now we have the military. They changed the agrarian reform law and the Indian Communities law, but we still run our community ourselves, the way we always have," he said.

At Chacapalpa, the heavy thumps made by men pounding dirt into building blocks for a wall did not carry far into the thin, high mountain air. The men worked in silence, breathing hard around lumps of half-chewed coca leaves bulging in their cheeks.

"We have lost a lot of land over the years," said Moises Articas, the 70-year-old patriarch of the Articas clan which has supplied the village with leaders for at least two generations. "They say the community nobles in those times sold out community lands and kept the money themselves."

In fact, Chacapalpa is an "advanced" and relatively rich community where the women speak Spanish instead of Quechua. About 600 Chacapalpa families have moved away from the ancestral lands, emigrating to Peruvian cities for jobs and high school educations. Even those who stay behind have begun the acculturation process, and call themselves "comuneros" or "campesinos", never Indians.

Yarasca, as council president, has been around — at the expense of the military government. When he returned from his travels, he spoke the language of the ones who are masterminding the revolution.

"We are trying now to raise the level of consciousness of the people," he said. "We must study our problems and make a cooperative to solve them."

This is just what the Government has ordered for the campesino communities. They are supposed, with government help, to stop the practice of making communal sheep pastures into the private property of some commune members. Grazing for Chacapalpa's 18,000 sheep is to be assigned and improved communally.

To speed the process, the agrarian-reform administration has made Chacapalpa and 15 other communities co-proprietors of a huge expropriated sheep ranch. They get none of the land, now very efficiently ranched, but get their share of the profits.

In March, the military government decreed a sweeping reform of education which paid some attention to native languages at the same time it declared cradle-to-the-grave general education.

Minister of Education Alfredo Carpio Becerra said, "We are ending the violent Hispanization of those who presently live outside our society. They will be taught their languages first — and then in Spanish." The implication is clear: when the process is finished, the Indians will live "within the society."

Paraguay is the only country in Latin America in which the indigenous language, Guaraní, enjoys equal status with Spanish and is taught and spoken by most of that country's two million people.

This year, however, the military leaders made a commitment to change the people to fit the new legal framework, and to create what they term "a social democracy with full participation" and "a new society, just, humanistic, and sharing." They speak of "social mobilization," meaning the agitating, educating, and setting the people in motion so that they take over their own destinies.

The program of "social mobilization" will be set up under a general with a staff of 4,800 people, and a budget of \$9 million. Its economists, agronomists, social workers, sociologists, and organizers, are assigned to teach the people how to organize themselves.

The people "must organize themselves in the way they want to, to solve their own problems," Brig. Gen. Jose Graham Huirtado said. He works directly under President Juan Velasco Alvarado, who is also a general. The program is "meant to break up the indifference, the crippling passivity of the Peruvian people," the general says.

That passivity is identified with the Indians, direct descendants of the subjects of the Inca empire who became the subjects of the conquering Spaniards and then the subjects of a national elite.

It was not just by chance that the military Government chose as its official hero Tupac Amaru, a highland Indian who claimed an Inca title and in 1780 led the largest and the last of the Indian revolts against Spanish rule.

If the situation is bad in the highlands, it is worse in the Amazonian part of Peru where the tribesmen are less tractable. In Iquitos, there is little respect for Indians. Stories of atrocities against them abound. And young Indians today are working off debts their grandfathers built up with traders during the rubber boom. There are tribes which hunt with bows, spears, and blowguns.

But now the Americans are mapping out the area. Grumman Ecosystems Corporation of Bethpage, Long Island, New York, is under contract to Peru's national petroleum company for aerial surveys of the Amazon basin. If there is an oil boom, it could mean the end of the Indians through brutality or the introduction of new diseases.



Some say that if there is to be any revolution in Peru, it must ultimately spring from the Indian peoples' own goals. As the Quechua story of the Inkari tells, when the dismembered body of the assassinated Inka comes back together, the Indian peoples will rise up and regain control over their land and their destiny. Until that day, there can be no revolution in Peru.

(Thanks to Joseph Novitski for his October 5th article in the New York Times and to H.J. Maidenber of the New York Times; to Stephen E. Chase for his letter to the editor of the New York Review of Books, and to Everett G. Martin, who is a staff reporter of the Wall Street Journal, for this information.)

BRAZIL



DEVELOPMENT & DEATH

Brazil — Bloody Clashes

Numerically, native people of Brazil are almost insignificant — just 180,000 natives are left, while the nation has grown to 100-million people. The campaign of genocide has been sure and ruthless, and now because of a development boom, even the few native groups who survive in Brazil's immense backlands are subject to being wiped out.

Once there were two to three million Indians living in Brazil, most of them in the Amazonian regions. Now the extermination is accelerating. Between 1950 and 1968, for instance, the Cacaas Novas tribe was reduced from 30,000 to 400 people.

Those who criticize Brazil are often from nations who did the same things to native peoples, and now that they have attained material gains, ask that Brazil refrain from doing so. The high rate of economic growth in Brazil now is in such items as cars (27% increase) rather than in foods (1.8% increase). The annual income of 72,000,000 poorest Brazilians equals that of the 900,000 wealthiest.

The Brazilian government wants to "progressively integrate" Indians into modern society "but without loss of their cultural standards," according to Interior Minister Jose Costa Cavalcanti, the man in charge of Indian policy.

Transportation Minister Mario Andreazza, who coordinates multimillion-dollar road-building programs through the lands where the native people live, does not mind destroying the land and the way of life: "Indians are tired of being Indians. They want to benefit from government programs," he says.

After 30 years of working to "pacify" Brazilian Indians so they could be removed to reservations where "guarantees" of permanently-protected lands were given, Orlando and Claudio Villas-Boas gave up last year. "We are convinced that every time we contact a tribe, we are contributing toward the destruction of the purest things that tribe possesses," they said.

The case of the Bororos is an example of what happened to the native people in Brazil. Once the undisputed bosses of thousands of square miles of the western part of the country, the Bororos gradually were forced off their land by ranchers, farmers, prospectors, and settlers. They died in attacks and fights, and from white men's diseases such as measles and tuberculosis. Fewer than 500 Bororos exist today, many of them taking refuge in alcoholic stupor.

NATIVE PEOPLE OF BRAZIL CONTINUE FIGHT FOR LAND AND FREEDOM IN RAID

Rio de Janeiro — Waimiri-Atoari tribesmen attacked a government post on their land in a remote area of what is claimed as northern Brazil and killed three employees of the government, it was announced February 1.

A fourth employee escaped. All worked for the National Indian Foundation. The survivor reported that the native force was seeking vengeance against a truck driver who had treated them badly.

The incident — in the territory of Roraima about 100 miles from the Guyana border — was said to be a new setback in the Brazilian Government's attempts to "pacify" the Indians in the Amazon jungle area. The government is trying to "adapt them gradually to modern civilization" and at the same time see that roadbuilders can invade the area with safety.

According to Luis Duarte, the survivor, the attack took place at Alalaú on the jungle road leading from the Amazon city of Manaus to Caracarl. The tribesmen are from the same group of about 5,000 people who killed 13 members of a pacification expedition in 1968 led by an Italian priest, Joao Calleri.

Some surviving native people have kept civilization from contaminating their lives. Clashes between them and those who invade their lands have led to brutal massacres for both sides.

Those tribal groups who have fallen prey to the government's programs of being "integrated into Brazilian society" are failures by any standard. The Guaranis in Sao Paulo State in the southeastern part of the country, who were "pacified" fifty-years ago, exist today by selling trinkets and begging.

In March, the Catholic Bishops came out with a strong declaration of human rights, and a denunciation on "the limitations on basic freedoms" in Brazil. And while things are bad enough for ordinary people in Brazil, the Bishops reserved their strongest attack for charges of oppression of Brazil's Indian population.



Amazonian Tribesmen: Will They Survive?

The document "charged that about 100,000 Indians were in the process of being exterminated." Obviously suspicious of the Brazilian government authorities, the Bishops suggested that they themselves make a study of the Indian situation, "and work with groups willing to help the Indians." Rarely has there been support for the native people in Brazil, and never before from such a prestigious body as the Brazilian Bishops.

Opening the Amazon basin to industrial interests — often American-owned — threatens to destroy native culture, and perhaps even existence. Recently, under increasing worldwide pressure to protect the Indians, the Brazilian government reluctantly began to set up Indian reserves. But now the government has changed its policy, and with startlingly strange reasoning.

"Besides not wanting to play the role of a large landowner, FUNAI (the National Indian Foundation of the Brazilian Government) would prefer to avoid conflicts with the Indians' land," General Ismarth de Araujo Oliveira, FUNAI's boss said in an article in the Brazilian weekly, *Opinioao*. Noting that hunting parties, nut gatherers, and rubber crews — and big ranchers — often invaded Indian lands, General Araujo reasoned that "Indians would no longer be victims of the size of their territory."



The native raiding party had gone four times to the post looking for a truck driver named Celso Maia who works for a company clearing the forest. The driver was known for his bad treatment of native people, and had been banned from the region.

They had also been angered several weeks before when a French movie-maker had tried to film them. However, the government employees had been able to "keep them under control."

In April, the government divided up the Aripuana Reservation for occupation by a private company, and also declared that a new reservation for 4,000 Yanomoni people in Roraima would not be set aside since the region would be cut by the Northern Perimetral Highway now under construction.

The attitude of Eduardo Galvao, director of the Goeldi Indian Museum in Belem, Brazil, is indicative of what the native people face. "With malaria, you spray with DDT to get rid of the mosquitoes," he says. "You can't spray Indians with insecticide, but a series of processes is getting rid of them just as effectively. Either way, the end result is the same: no malaria and no Indians."

Galvao said the penetration of the interior of Brazil has picked up such speed that it is now impossible to stop the advance. The government's choice, he said, is to leave the Indians to face the invasion alone with the inevitable result that they will be wiped out, or to act as a cushion by contacting the Indians ahead of the pioneer front and trying to prepare them to fit into the society which will soon engulf them.

Some native areas will come under pressure earlier and under much greater pressure than others, and one of these is the area in which the Cintas-Largas live, Galvao said.

"The area has one of the richest deposits of tin in the world, and there are big national and international mining companies anxious to get in there. They are not prepared to wait 5, 10, or 20 years while the Indians are contacted, pacified, and prepared for integration into our society," Galvao states bluntly.

No matter what happens, though, Galvao says, the native of Brazil is doomed, for the government does not have the ability to bring the native into its society.



"We don't know where to go from here. We don't know how to prepare them for this transition to our society, and even if we did, we do not have the services to protect them through this transitional stage. We cannot protect him, and we cannot give him the skill or the tools to enable him to compete in our society."

If that is what the native people of Brazil can expect from their "enlightened" countrymen, it is clear that help for the native people must come from other nations and peoples.

(Thanks to Brazilian Information Bulletin, published by American Friends of Brazil, POBox 2279, Station A, Berkeley, California 94702.)

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A central information coordinating point on native peoples of South and Central America has been established in the U.S. The center, Indigena, also need people to research the infringement on the human rights of Indian Peoples by North American and multinational corporations and missionary groups. Translators are also needed. Films, photographs and offers of help should be sent to:

INDIGENA
POBox 4073
Berkeley, California 94704

U.S. CORPORATIONS PROFIT AS AMAZONIAN NATIVE PEOPLE BECOME EXTINCT: WHAT WILL WE DO ABOUT IT?

There were 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 Indians living in Brazil in 1500. Now there are only 50,000 to 100,000. Contemporary Brazil, unlike the Andean nations such as Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, is not essentially an Indian nation. And the genocide of Indians will not stir up any mass protest movement here any more than it did in the United States a century ago.

The Trans-Amazon highway passes very near the Karajas mountain range where U.S. Steel is getting ready for its big new mining operation.

An estimated 16% of the world's timber is located in the Amazon region (which itself is half of Brazil's

territory.) The Georgia Pacific Co., the number one plywood producer in the world, already owns 600,000 acres of land near the new highway.

FERUSA, a Brazilian subsidiary of Billiton, which is in turn a unit of Royal-Dutch Shell, has invested \$3-million in tin mining in the region.

Will the genocide, the destruction of people, animals, and forest stop? Even in the U.S., the more radical

wing of the ecology movement is losing battle after battle with major corporations. Many of the imperialist polluters are engaged more in public relations on ecology than in undoing or stopping pollution. All over the world, millions are seeking the benefits, real or imagined, of technology and development — while large corporations are ready to do the job and make the profits.

(Thanks to Allen Young for his information and analysis.)

The Pacific

FROM BIKINI TO RONGERIK, FROM RONGERIK TO KWAJALEIN, FROM KWAJALEIN TO KILI.

(The following letter was sent to the President of the United States May 4 by the Micronesian Legal Services Corporation, at Saipan, Mariana Islands.)

Dear President Nixon:

This letter is written on behalf of the displaced people of Bikini Atoll, now residing on Kili Island, United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. It is a detailed discussion of the past trials, fears, and suffering of the Bikini people, written with intention of placing the grievances of the Bikini People before the United States. This letter is most emphatically a petition for redress of the sufferings and exploitation of the Bikini People by the United States during the last 27 years.

The suffering of the Bikini People began, as far as the United States is concerned and responsible — on January 25, 1946. On that date, the Pentagon announced that the United States had selected Bikini Atoll in the Northern Marshall Islands as the site of a series of atomic tests. Part of the requirements of the test program were that the test site be quite distant from all heavily populated areas, 500 miles from all air and sea routes, and uninhabited or containing only a few people who could be relocated.

The "few people" in this case were the people of Bikini. They may have been "few from the United States point of view, but from the Bikinians own point of view, they were all the people, not just a few. The decision of the Joint Chiefs of Staff made no provision for the feelings, aspirations, or wishes of the "few"; it was simply unthinkable that so few could or would defy the wishes of so many.

"To Result in Kindness and Benefit to Mankind"

Thus on February 10, 1946, the Military Governor of the Marshall Islands came to Bikini in an amphibious airplane to tell the Bikinians about the decisions made in Washington, 5,000 miles away. The Governor explained that the United States had a new and powerful weapon to be tested, and that it would be tested at Bikini.

The people of Bikini, understanding little, and faced by the awesome power of the United States, and having no other recourse, relented. Their *iroij* (chief) Juda told the Governor that the United States could move Bikini people to Rongerik Atoll, an uninhabited atoll also in the Northern Marshall Islands. Time proved the choice to be extremely unfortunate.

Rongerik Atoll lies about 100 miles to the east of Bikini Atoll. In all measurements, it is a great deal smaller than Bikini. Bikini has 23 islands on the atoll; Rongerik 10. The total land area of Bikini is 2.32 square miles; Rongerik consists of only .63 square miles. Bikini's lagoon consists of 243 square miles, while Rongerik's lagoon is only 55 square miles. Events soon made evident that fact that the Pentagon never considered whether an atoll with one-fourth the lagoon size of Bikini and one-third the land area of Bikini could support 200 Bikini people.

On March 7 and 8, 1946, less than a month after being told that they were to be moved, the Navy moved all 199 Bikini people to Rongerik atoll. The trouble began. The Bikinians had long considered Rongerik to be associated with Libokra, an evil female spirit who dealt in poisons. Many of the fish on Rongerik were in fact poison, and many people became sick from eating them. Furthermore, the food resources of Rongerik were not sufficient to support the Bikinians. A report by a medical officer in July, 1947, reported that the people were suffering from malnutrition. A disastrous fire had destroyed 30% of the food trees a month earlier. The United States investigated the situation, and discussions were had about moving the people elsewhere. Nevertheless, nothing was done.

Finally, in November, 1947, the United States and the Bikini people decided that the atoll of Ujelang would be a better place for them. With the help of ten Bikini men, construction was begun on a village at Ujelang. On December 2, the United States decreed that the Enewetak atoll was also to be used for atomic testing, and that the inhabitants of that atoll would also have to relocate. The Enewetak people would be moved to Ujelang. Not for the first time, and certainly not for the last, the Bikini people had the rug pulled out from under them. They remained on Rongerik.

They are a Starving People

In early 1948, a United States anthropologist visited Rongerik. He reported that the people had been cutting down and eating the heart of young palm trees, because there was nothing else to eat. By early 1948, most of the edible young trees had been eaten. Fishing efforts were reduced because Rongerik's coconuts were of such

poor quality that they could not produce the sennit needed to lash the homemade canoes together and to serve as rigging.

On January 31, 1948, the only food on the island was one bag of flour, which was mixed with a little water and doled out to 167 people. All ripe pandanus and coconut fruits had long since been eaten. In the next few days, some unripe coconuts were eaten, along with the only fish that could be procured, a small, slightly poisonous butterfly fish. In response to emergency messages, a doctor and emergency supplies were flown to Rongerik in February, 1948. The doctor examined the people and pronounced their condition to be that of a starving people.

In March, 1948, the United States Government confronted the situation and moved the people of Bikini again. Their stay on Rongerik had lasted almost two years to the day. This time, the people were moved to Kwajalein atoll, several hundred miles to the south. Kwajalein had been a major Japanese military installation, and the Americans were in the process of transforming it into a Navy base. Many Marshallese workers had been recruited to work at the base on its construction. These workers were housed separately across the long airfield in a Marshallese labor camp. The military put up 30 ten-by-ten tents for the Bikini people in the same general area, and the Bikini people thereafter received their meals in a large messhall with the other Marshallese workers. No subsistence or handcraft activities were possible on Kwajalein. There was nothing to do but watch the goings-on at the base and observe the workings of telephones, movie theaters, refrigeration units, streets, and assorted indicia of military technology. The anthropologists tell us that the social fabric of the Bikini people has not been the same since their sojourn at Kwajalein.



— Friends of Micronesia photo
Micronesians Protest Use of Islands for Atomic Tests

The stay at Kwajalein was never intended to be permanent. The people would stay only long enough to decide where to move them next. The military narrowed the choices to Wotho atoll or Kili island. After a very short visit to both sites by a few members of the Bikini community, the people decided that they should move to Kili Island. They were moved to Kili Island — their Kili prison, as they later called it — in November of 1948.

Kili is an island in the southern Marshall Islands, 400 miles south of Bikini. In contrast to Bikini it has a good deal of rain. Water is perhaps its only plentiful resource. It is very small, comprising just less than 200 acres in size, or .31 square miles, or about one-seventh of the area of Bikini. Kili is an island, not an atoll [a grouping of islands] and is fringed with a reef. There is no lagoon, and heavy winds and tides isolate the island from all shipping from November until March or April of each year.

Kili had been a copra plantation during Japanese and German times, and most of the arable land was planted in coconuts. When the Bikinians arrived in 1948, there were only a few pandanus and breadfruit trees, and none of the hardwood trees found on Bikini for use in house and canoe construction. Kili has agricultural potential, but for a marine-orientated people, accustomed to fishing and unaccustomed to tilling soil and cutting brush on Kili, agriculture has never been either rewarding or successful.

Life on Kili has never been pleasant for the Bikini people. In the early years, and continuing to the present, the difficulties are too numerous to explain in detail. The heavy surf and sea conditions, plus frequent local ship shortages, usually prevented more than four visits a year by vessels. Failure of the field trips meant that the copra that the Bikini people had produced was left to spoil or be eaten by rats. Failure to pick up copra was a strong disincentive to make it. Food shortages occurred, severe enough so that in 1952, a ton of food was air-dropped to the people. Even then, parachutes were not used, and the food was broken and ruined. The efforts at agriculture did not work, and produced little food. The Bikinians were given one large ship, a converted forty-foot whaleboat, which was wrecked on the Kili reef soon after it was procured. The community was in debt, and copra production was minimal. Then and now, the Bikini people have an expression for Kili: *Kili enana*, meaning Kili is no good.

In 1953, a Kili development project was begun, based upon the United States government information that Bikini atoll would not be habitable at any time in the near future. The development project largely involved importation of agricultural experts to tell the Bikinians

people how to cultivate important food crops such as taro, pandanus, limes, and other seedlings imported from other islands. Much of this agricultural program met with some success. Efforts were also made to placate the Bikinians by giving them several acres of land on Jaluit atoll, about 30 miles from Kili. However, that Jaluit land program was largely a failure, for different reasons. The lands on Jaluit were seldom used because they were barren and without food trees, because travel between Jaluit and Kili was uncertain and infrequent, and because the Bikinians were most unwelcome at Jaluit, and the Jaluit people disputed the title to Jaluit lands given to the Bikinians. After complaints had been made to the United Nations Visiting Mission, another boat was obtained for the use of the Bikinians. The *Libra* was an old 54-foot mission vessel that the Trust Territory outfitted with a new engine and sails. The vessel, for the first time, alleviated the isolation of Kili, and the failure of field-trip ships to call more than once every six or eight months.

In November, 1957, typhoon Lola struck Kili, and devastated the new agricultural project and sank the *Libra*. All the taro was killed by salt intrusion, and 50% of the breadfruit trees were killed. In January, 1958, another typhoon struck nearby Jaluit, wiping out most food trees there and creating widespread devastation. After the typhoon, most rehabilitation efforts went to Jaluit. The Bikinians were back where they were in 1948, except that by now there were more than 250 people living on Kili. Food shortages again ensued in 1958 and 1960, alleviated for short periods by the arrival of C-rations and other emergency foodstuffs. Relocation was again discussed by the United States Government, but rejected. The Bikinians continued to complain about Kili and their prison. *Kili enana*.

In 1946, when the Bikini people were first moved from their home, the United States made no settlement with the people concerning Bikini. The United States did not inform the people that they had a legal title to Bikini, and the Bikinians, even if they had such a concept firmly in mind, were too intimidated to state it. In 1956, after some adverse world publicity, the United States attempted to "settle" the Bikini problem. After several discussions, the government simply presented the Bikinians with a completed, non-negotiable document entitled, "Agreement in Principle Regarding the Use of Bikini Atoll."

The agreement specified that the United States would give the Bikini people \$325,000 and use rights on Kili and some islands in Jaluit, in return for use rights to Bikini atoll. It appears that the 25,000 one dollar bills taken to Kili with the document had the intended effect — the Bikinians accepted the proffered agreement. \$25,000 was given in cash, to be divided among the people, and \$300,000 was to be set aside in a trust fund. The Trust Fund has been a miserable failure, and is one of the primary reasons for the continued grievance of the Bikini people.

The Trust Fund was to be established with \$300,000, according to the "Agreement in Principle" . . . [Due to poor investment planning and the state of the bond market, the bond purchased with the money was sold, prior to maturity, for about 35% less than its face value.]

Even now, the income is only \$9,035.28 per year, and amounts to no more than a pittance when divided among the Bikini people twice a year — in fact, it comes to about \$12.00 for each person. The joys of having such a trust fund are obviously quite small.

In August, 1968, President Lyndon Johnson announced that some of the islands of Bikini atoll would be cleaned up and returned to the people of Bikini for resettlement. Certainly this was a day of rejoicing for the Bikinians, but subsequent events concerning the rehabilitation of their atoll have left them cynical and demoralized. The rehabilitation project has been bungled from the beginning.

. . . finally, the people of Bikini do not know when they will be able to move back to their homeland. When they do move back, they will find it changed and bulldozed and radioactive. It is uncertain — in spite of AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) statements to the contrary — that residence there will be safe. There is still a question of radio-active danger, as evidenced by the fact that the AEC required a four-inch concrete floor in the Bikini houses.

The purpose of this letter is to show the treatment of the Bikini people by the United States Government, and to detail the sufferings and grievances of the displaced people of Bikini. They have endured endless broken promises; three forced relocations of their homes, malnutrition and near-starvation; atomic destruction of their homeland and irradiation of their soil; deterioration of their social structure and loss of a sense of community; loss of many skills required for fishing on an atoll; isolation and rejection by the government, and the certain risk of living with the dangers of radioactivity.

(Letters of support can be sent c/o Hamlet J. Barry III, PO Box 376, Majuro, Marshall Islands 96960. [Yes, the Bikinians have a zip code.] Also, congressmen might be prevailed upon to introduce legislation and investigation of these problems — and foreign peoples might have their United Nations delegations explore the matter — after all, the Bikinians are not Americans, but are under a UN Trust Protectorate.

"WHEN YOU DESTROY PART OF THE LAND, YOU DESTROY ME ALSO. I AM PART OF THE LAND."

— quote from David Sandy, James Bay Cree

James Bay area, Cree Nation (Quebec) — Seemingly all the forces of the Canadian Government, the courts, the environmentalists, the national native groups, and the people of Canada are unable to stop the province of Quebec from building the world's largest hydro-electric project on land owned by the Cree People.

At least, they haven't stopped it yet — and daily, more miles of roads and tons of cement in dams pave over the land which the Crees have never signed over to Canada.

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, whose political career rests on the project he announced two years ago, visited the area for the first time July 14. The one-day visit was confined to only an inspection of the construction sites of the six-billion-dollar project, and discussions with workmen over labor conditions. Significantly missing from his brief stay in the area was an inspection of the 2500-square-miles to be flooded, or the additional 135,000 square miles to be affected by the project. There were no visits to native villages where some 6,000 Crees — the sole residents of the region — live.

The James Bay Project has served as the cornerstone of the Bourassa Administration's economic policy. It has been developed to aid an unemployment-ridden Quebec and to speak to increasing energy needs.

The Crees who live in the area are seeking a temporary injunction halting construction on the project in order to have time to explore the legal aspects of the case. No ruling has been made on the lengthy six-month hearing, the longest injunction case in Quebec legal history.

The Bourassa government and the James Bay Development Corporation have contended that the economic benefits to be derived from the project warrant its continuation, and have written-off the contention of the Crees that their aboriginal rights are being violated.

George Emery, counsel for the James Bay Development Corporation, dismissed the assertions of the Crees that the project would destroy their way of life by saying, "Do the Cree, legally speaking, have a right to their culture? I think not. The Cree culture cannot be weighed on one side, and the province of Quebec on the other." Emery also argues that the project cannot be halted, for to do so would mean the loss of a half-billion dollars already expended.

Whatever it might do to the economy of Quebec, the Crees seem on strong legal grounds as well as moral considerations. The settlers to northern Quebec and those involved in the Hudson Bay Company of 1670 were given strict instructions by the Governor of the Colony that the Indians' rights were to be respected in all situations. Canada became heir to the land, and when in 1912 it was turned over to the province of Quebec, the Quebec Boundary Extension Act stated that "Quebec will recognize the rights of Indian inhabitants in the territory to the same extent, and will obtain surrender of such rights in the same manner as the government of Canada has heretofore recognized such rights and has obtained surrender thereof."



— Aislin

When New Democratic Party native affairs critic Frank Howard told the House of Commons that the Canadian Government was abdicating its constitutional responsibility to Indians, Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chretien rose on a question of privilege.

"If we are not at the hearings it is because we are no longer paternalistic as we would be if [Howard] were in charge. And we let the Indians do what they want."

Vietnam Pilots Make Premier's Birthday Gift

But as Bourassa visited the construction site, there was no sign of troubles. It was the premier's 40th birthday. He beamed when he called the vast land of the Crees "a new frontier for modern Quebec."

Fred Ernst, JBDC vice-president, said mining exploration was being stepped up in the area — iron is believed to be the main mineral involved. The corporation already has

signed five joint-venture agreements with private firms. Air traffic into the James Bay territory will soon exceed that of any Canadian centre other than Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. A number of the air employees are U.S. pilots with experience in Vietnam who handle helicopters to ferry men and equipment into the forest.

It may be a good deal — financially — for everyone except the people who have lived on the land for so many thousands of years.



—Montreal Gazette/Tedd Church photo
Premier Bourassa at Project: A Birthday Gift

Bourassa made it a point to chat with the two lone Indians working on the project, for the benefit of newsmen. In the entire project there are only 50 native workmen out of a 3300-man force.

"The working conditions here are real good. I like working here. The pay is good and I'm getting my vacation soon," Abel Blacksmith, a 56-year-old laborer told Bourassa.

It is not easy to get into the area. The James Bay municipal police department is under the control of the corporation — 27 policemen and 28 security guards. Headquarters are in Matagami, with police travelling by eight jeeps, two cars, a number of snowmobiles, and a helicopter. Anyone entering the area has to have a pass to get in. The police are all white.

A progress report on James Bay environmental research released by Environment Minister Jack Davis has already undermined native protests that the land will be ruined. The report says that the native way of life in the James Bay region can't support a larger population anyway, so that new jobs must be created in the north. Most environmental reports have been kept a secret, and the government has only promised that they will be "ultimately" released to the public.

Federal officials estimate the first reports on environmental impact might be made public in the spring of 1974 — at the earliest — and after three airports and a 450-mile road are finished, and construction on the largest of four LaGrande River dam complexes is already started.

In fact, the most important environmental impact studies have not yet been even started, and therefore their results probably could not be made available to the public until 1975 or 1976. It's a goldmine to the scientists, with over \$10-million slated to be spent. And it might be the last possibility for such studies to be made if the area is permanently ruined.

Until now, Ottawa has been content to let the Crees slug it out in court with the James Bay Development Corporation and the Province of Quebec. But soon it may become a party to the project, publicly. JBDC announced August 30 that it planned to ask Ottawa to build a \$7-million deep harbour at the mouth of the LaGrande River at Fort George to permit 30,000-ton tankers to bring in fuel for the project. Fort George is an entirely-native community which has not even been asked about the matter.

While the corporation plans to bring in over a million tons of petroleum products during its first ten years, it is presenting the project as one which would permit Fort George residents the opportunity to bring in regular supplies by sea rather than having to make transfers to small barges.

Similar arrogance was displayed in the hearings for the injunction. Counsel Georges Emery, representing the JBDC, told the court that if the Crees wanted their rights respected, they should have made those demands a long time ago — it was too late now, he said.

Emery said that the native people had no rights to hunt and fish that could be damaged, since hunting and fishing were "privileges granted them by the province, which could be revoked at any time through an administrative decision." He asserted that the project would not affect Cree life-style, and if it did, there was no legal principle involved. "Their culture will be respected," Emery said, "but no more so than the cultures of other minorities."

THE LATEST QUEBEC NEWS

A surprise call for a general election to be held in Quebec in late October was made in September by Liberal Party Premier Robert Bourassa. Only an upset would sweep him from power — so far, the important James Bay project is hardly an issue. Among those running on Bourassa's Liberal ticket: none other than John Ciacchia, who resigned his post as assistant deputy minister for Indian Affairs when the election was announced. His department had done nothing to help the Crees protect themselves from Quebec's rape of their land. 2+2=4.



Two days after Bourassa announced the election, he published a six-chapter book on what the James Bay Development Project will do for Quebec. James O'Reilly, chief legal advisor for the Indians of Quebec Association responded to that with an announcement that he would consider suing the Premier for contempt of court. (In Canada, matters under consideration by a court are not to be commented upon by the principals in the case.)

O'Reilly said he had some reason to believe that Judge Malouf would not delay any judgment until the election is over. An entire year's construction has occurred since the first motion toward a temporary injunction was heard.

Another interesting fact which has emerged is that the Inuits of Northern Quebec were represented at the hearings by a firm of lawyers whose members include John Ciacchia.

Although the federal government could have taken up the native case, it refused to intervene. A leak of confidential government papers indicates that the government's own legal advisers had said that such a refusal to protect native and federal interests could leave it open to a damage suit. But Indian Affairs, advised by Ciacchia, took the position that it would not intervene "because it would be paternalistic."

Documents recently released have indicated that the federal cabinet was ready to take direct action to protect the Indian interest in James Bay in May of 1972. But within the month, the cabinet reversed its stand, deciding instead to maintain liaison with the development corporation, and to dovetail Indian policy with its quest for a cooperative but superior relationship with Quebec.



Against the fancy statistics and complex arguments of the lawyers and economists came the simple testimony of the people who live in the James Bay area. David Sandy, 45, said: "When you destroy part of the land, you destroy me also. I am part of the land." Asked by attorney James O'Reilly "how much is that destruction worth to you," Sandy replied: "I do not care about money. The way I live I do not need money. I would not know how much to ask for. I would rather have the land."

The whole way of life, religious beliefs, attachment to the land, means of subsistence — everything that goes into making life for the Cree people is at stake.

(Thanks to Dean Hansell for his article and his very helpful assistance on this issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.)

N.W.T. SUPREME COURT RULES IN FAVOR OF NATIVE LAND CLAIMS



Yellowknife, N.W.T. — The Northwest Territories Supreme Court ruled in early September that native peoples hold aboriginal rights over a vast part of the Western Arctic. The decision will undoubtedly be appealed by the Government of Canada.

The 60-page judgment was handed down Sept. 6 by Mr. Justice William Morrow. An appeal by the Government on whether Justice Morrow even had the right to hear the case has already been filed in July, and will be heard at the next sitting of the territorial appeal court at Yellowknife October 22.

In June, Mr. Justice Morrow ruled that he must hear arguments in an application by 7,000 treaty natives who wished to file a caveat, or warning, on all land transactions in a 400,000-square-mile-area of the north. That would mean that anyone purchasing land in that area would have to sign a statement acknowledging that he understands there is a claim pending on the land.

The Government of Canada asserts that since the caveat relates to claims against the Queen, the Federal Court of Canada has exclusive jurisdiction, and further, that the Federal Land Titles Act does not apply in this case because the lands in question belong to the Crown. When Ottawa attempted to have the whole case taken away from Mr. Justice Morrow, he ruled that he had the right to hear the case on whether a caveat should be filed — and thereafter the responsibility would shift to the federal court to settle such questions as compensation.

When Mr. Justice Morrow decided to proceed with the hearings, Ottawa withdrew its lawyers. "My instructions are that I be excused from any further proceedings at this time," Crown counsel Orville Troy told the court.

The decision of the Canadian Government flew in the face of the refusal of the Federal Court of Canada to issue an order prohibiting Mr. Justice Morrow from hearing the case. It seemed as though Ottawa was going to have its own way regardless of what the courts thought.

When Ottawa withdrew its lawyers, Mr. Justice Morrow appointed a lawyer to represent the Government of Canada, Dietrich Brand, of Yellowknife. And the hearings proceeded.

Mr. Justice Morrow did not take the Ottawa snub of his court lightly. He observed that under the Land Titles

Act, he has the power to summon anyone he thinks might have a bearing on the case. "It may be that before this inquiry has been concluded, I will find it necessary to exercise this power in respect to the Government."

And so he proceeded with the hearings throughout July and August. He took his court to settlements along the 1200-mile length of the Mackenzie River to seek out old men who were alive when treaties 8 and 11 were signed 74 and 52 years ago, respectively.

Many northern native people feel the treaties they signed were peace and friendship treaties, not surrenders of their land as the government of Canada maintains.

As Chief Andrew Stewart, 67, of Aklavik, told the court, "I've never yet heard the old people say we gave our country to the Government."

Louis Norwegian from Jean-Marie River, remembers when the treaties were signed. He told the court how his grandfather refused to take the treaty for three days because he believed the white man would not be giving money away for nothing. He was told the money was just to ensure peace for the future. While most of the people were having dinner, the treaty party talked an old man into accepting the money, and made him chief.

At Fort Providence, 86-year-old Victor Lafferty, who was an interpreter for the treaty party, said that at no time during the negotiations was he ever asked to translate the actual treaty to the people.

In his final ruling, Mr. Justice Morrow did not go so far as to say the treaties were invalid, but said there was "sufficient doubt" that the treaties had effectively erased aboriginal claims. He wrote of the "uneasy feeling that the (treaty) negotiations were not all as above board as one would have hoped."

Mr. Justice Morrow softened his judgment somewhat by ordering that the caveat would not be in effect until the Government had exhausted its appeals.

Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien has expressed irritation with the whole proceedings. "For two years, I've been saying that I'm willing to negotiate the fulfillment of the obligations of treaties 8 and 11," he says.

Native leaders counter that this is not sufficient, for the fulfillment of the treaties only means setting aside certain small areas of land as reserves. They also say that they need both time and money to adequately research the legal details and to have extensive meetings with remote villages to be able to sit down with the government as equals, if not sovereigns.

Early settlement of native claims is considered essential by the government so that it will have a free hand in exploiting northern resources hand-in-hand with mining and pipeline interests. Industries do not want to start expensive development, only to be halted by court actions or sabotage.

Industrial interests say there is no question that the area will be developed, but that native people should have a right to benefit.

Roland Horsfield, corporate manager of Imperial Oil Ltd. of Toronto, for instance, recently told the Inuvik Chamber of Commerce that Imperial Oil "sympathized with the native people in the area of land claims, and like all Canadians, would like to see a just and equitable settlement of this issue at the earliest opportunity."

But the native people of the North have more than just land problems to make them sour on development there. According to a study commissioned by the Territorial Government of the NWT, economic development resulting from the construction of a Mackenzie Valley pipeline will have little effect on native prosperity.

The study says that there is a continuing increase in welfare totals as more native northerners are drawn into the cash economy. Once they have abandoned a natural livelihood, there is no where to turn when there is unemployment except to welfare.

The report adds that "economic development" will also mean increases in sophisticated types of crime, a need for beefed-up police forces, social deteriorations such as social dissension, breakdown of families, child neglect. The only social advantage that could be foreseen was the possibility of better health care.

The report said consideration should be given to forming an association or union of northern workers to make sure they are not squeezed out of job opportunities because of "organizational structures of southern-based labor unions and contractors."

The survey group, Gemini North Ltd., believes that any major project in the Mackenzie Valley area will result in a substantial migration of people into the area for both permanent and temporary jobs, with the construction of an oil railway requiring the most inflow. All the new people would result in substantial urban pressures, especially for Inuvik, Fort Simpson and Norman Wells.

Northern workers are at a disadvantage to compete for employment with workers from the south. For instance, at the Pointed Mountain gas field project, native workers were employed in the construction, and were drawn into the cash economy. But when the survey crew visited the site in March, there were no native workers left.

(Thanks to Wayne Cheveldayoff of the Toronto Globe and Mail for his August 15 article.)

INUIT INGENUITY, FROZEN SWEAT & TEARS SOLVE PROBLEM OF ARCTIC LIFE

Hall Beach, Northwest Territories — Next time someone complains about how "lazy" native people are, read them this story.

This Inuit community 175 miles north of the Arctic Circle uses a tanker truck to distribute fresh water. The old truck gradually broke down, and was spending more time in the garage than on business. A new tanker, weighing 5½ tons, was ordered.

The tanker was part of the settlement's annual sealift, but icebreakers had been unable to get any cargo close to the shore, so everything — including the tanker and five prefabricated houses, was left at Igloodik, 52 miles away.

The houses were no trouble. Broken down into small sections, they were towed by snowmobile to Hall Beach. It took 123 trips by nine men and snowmobiles.

But the massive tank truck was a different story. It couldn't be driven across the sea ice because of 8-foot pressure ridges that keep shifting as the tide changes. Pacific Western Airlines wanted \$22,000 for air freight to do the job.

Once again, out came the snowmobiles. The truck was jacked up and sleds called komatiks were slipped under each wheel. Joe Alorut, council chairman at Hall Beach, said the first 36 miles was easy.

But then there were problems. "Fifteen miles from Hall Beach, one of the snowmobiles had engine trouble which forced us all to stop," Alorut says. "The truck's sleds stopped and sank. Once the engine was repaired and we were ready to begin again, we found we couldn't budge the truck."

The Inuit dug down to the hard sea ice and eight of them pushed the 5½ ton truck uphill and back onto the komatiks.

Five miles further, the truck became stuck on mounds of ice. The men had been hauling it for almost 28 consecutive hours, so five built igloos while the three others went on to Hall Beach for help.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT MAGIC: BLUE CARDS MAKE INDIANS WHITE

Whitehorse, Yukon — Thirty years ago, Johnny Johns rejected his status as a full-blooded Yukon Indian and became a card-carrying member of white Canada.

To anyone who doubts it, Johns, now 75, can produce the blue "enfranchisement certificate" the federal Canadian government issued him in 1943. It officially declares that he is no longer an Indian.

Johns is one of more than 3,000 non-status Indians in the Yukon who are fighting to ensure they win a share of any monetary or land settlement the native people here are able to negotiate with the federal government.

"I'm as Indian as any of my brothers in the Yukon," Johns said. "And yet I don't know if I will be able to claim my rightful heritage from the government of Canada."

Johns gave up his Indian status and band number in 1943 because he wanted to go into business as a big-game hunter and guide.



"In those days you couldn't get a big-game license from the government unless you were white," Johns said. "So I applied to become white."

It took a year of arguing with the federal Indian Affairs Department before Johns won his "freedom" to make a living the way he wanted.

Over the years, hundreds of Yukon Indians — and others across Canada — have shed their native status for a variety of reasons, some sensible, others tragic. Some wanted to lose their Indian status so they could drink in the bars of Whitehorse, Dawson, and Carcross.

"Before the late 1950s, Indians were not allowed to drink in bars," said Joe Jacque, president of the Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians. "The only way they could get in was to get their blue cards."

Mrs. Emil Baufeld lost her Indian status because she married a white man. Her case is a common one. But, ironically, although she is denied native rights in Canada, she is on the list of Indians who will receive their share of the United States' Alaskan Native Claims settlement. Mrs. Baufeld was born in Alaska.

Now, many people who gave up or lost their status are wanting to make sure they are represented in the negotiations for land or money settlement of native claims.

(Thanks to Chris Dennett, staff writer for the Toronto Star, for his February 24 article in that paper.)



Two students leave Albuquerque Indian School . . . will Indian control meet their needs?

Washington, D.C. — A new study into federal funding of Indian education reveals huge discrepancies in the financing from one school to another, and between Indian and non-Indian schools.

The report is published by the Bureau of Social Science Research, and is authored by Susan Smith and Margaret Walker. The study was undertaken at the request of the Harvard University Center for Law and Education under the Legal Action Support Project.

On a per capita basis, education in the BIA system costs twice as much as it does in public day schools, although the report does not deal with the question of the benefit gained from the funds, and it notes that a disproportionately large amount of BIA school money fails to reach the schools.

Federal supplementary support for BIA schools is also impressive: for every three dollars in supplementary funds expended per capita on BIA schools, only two are spent in public day schools.

In 1971, the U.S. Office of Education contributed about \$40.5 million to Indian education, of which \$26-million went to public schools, and \$14.5 million to the BIA, the report states. OEO contributed about \$650,000 to Indian education, almost all of it to BIA schools. The BIA, under authority of the Johnson-O'Malley Act, provided another \$17.9 million to public school districts for Indian education, and the Department of Labor spent about \$7.1 million on occupational training for teen-age Indians.

In addition, school districts, by virtue of the residence of Indians on tax-exempt Federal lands, received a total of \$30 million from BIA and USOE. This money is not specifically for Indian education, but is provided in lieu of local tax payments not made by Indians.

D-Q University

Washington, D.C. — Congressional support is being sought for a bill which would give a \$35-million federal contribution to D-Q University in Davis, California, for a five-year period.

Sponsor of the bill, Rep. Edward R. Roybal, joined by 22 other congressmen, says that the Indian/Chicano institution "has dedicated itself to creating a model for community education as well as racial understanding and cooperation."

Roybal said the \$35-million in grants was needed so that D-Q U could improve the federal land grant of 640 acres it received two years ago, and so programs in bilingual studies and educational programs could be developed.

In the two years since it was founded, Roybal said, D-Q U had become "a leader in the development of innovative teaching methods and bilingual approaches, migrant manpower training, vocational and community education."

(Thanks to UPI for this dispatch. D-Q U can be contacted at Box 409, Davis, California 95616.)

Miami, Florida — Seminole parents and leaders have protested a decision of the Broward School Board not to apply for federal funds to aid Indian children. Administrators had presented a proposal for four teachers and a media specialist to help 109 Seminole children in the public schools who perform below the norm of all other students, and for the development of materials for the entire school system.

The proposal could have brought about \$74,000 in federal funds. One board member who rejected the proposal said that he felt Indian children given special instruction would be unhappy because they had been singled out from amongst their classmates. "Once you differentiate, it does make it difficult for some of the children," he maintained.

In 1971, \$107.5 million was allotted for the operation of the BIA school system, or \$2183 per pupil enrolled. About \$1641 per day school pupil was spent, the authors of the report estimate, an increase over the \$1232 spent in 1968. In addition, the BIA schools received another \$15.2 million through the Office of Education for special assistance to Indian pupils, or \$310 per pupil more. These funds were also an increase over previous years.

For Indians in state schools, some states received more than four times the amount per pupil than did other states. And the discrepancy in the supplemental funds was even greater: some states received six times more per pupil than did others. BIA officials were unable to give any criteria for the allocation of the funds, or to correlate the differences with variations in need or pupil performance.

This amounted to about \$209 for each Indian pupil. In categorical programs, such as Teacher Corps, Upward Bound, and Talent Search, some states received as much as \$450 per pupil while others received only \$20 or less. Johnson-O'Malley grants were 16 times higher in some states than in others, for reasons which are not apparent.

Per Capita Federal Funds, BIA Schools, 1971, by State

State	Enrollment	Support per pupil
Montana	236	\$5,327
Oklahoma	2,043	3,045
California	510	2,937
Florida	85	2,932
Oregon	723	2,779
Nevada	496	2,569
New Mexico	9,414	2,354
Alaska	5,653	2,341
Kansas	1,106	1,765
South Dakota	4,958	1,709
North Dakota	3,187	1,612
Mississippi	1,255	1,587
Arizona	16,216	1,552
North Car.	1,232	1,510

Flagstaff, Arizona — A severe cutback in Arizona Indian reservations' educational programs has been forecast unless the state government acts quickly to get more federal funds. While funds have not been cut, enrollment has shot up 30 to 50% over the last five years.

Much of the funding comes to the school districts by way of the Johnson-O'Malley program, but requests for the money must be made by state officials.

George Burns, superintendent of the 2600-student Window Rock district said "we're going to be closing buildings and dropping programs if we don't get some help on this thing." Also affected are the 2,000 student Tuba City district and the 1700-student Ganado district. An estimated \$1-million is needed.

(Thanks to the Tucson Citizen for this August 26 report.)

A FABLE FOR SCHOOL PEOPLE

Once upon a time, the animals decided that they must do something heroic to meet the problems of a "New World" so they organized a school. They adopted an activity curriculum consisting of running, climbing, swimming, and flying. To make it easier to administer the curriculum, all the animals took all the subjects.

The duck was excellent in swimming, in fact, better than his instructors, but he made only passing grades in flying and was very poor in running. Since he was slow in running, he had to stay after school and also drop swimming, in order to practice running. This was kept up until his webbed feet were badly worn and he was only average in swimming. But average was acceptable in school, so nobody worried about that except the duck.

The rabbit started at the top of the class in running, but had a nervous break-down because of so much make-up work in swimming.

In the 1971 fiscal year, about \$43.7 was spent by OEO, USOE and BIA for Indian education in public schools. This amounted to about \$209 for each Indian pupil, although grants to some states were \$450 per pupil, and others received less than \$20.

(States with heavy boarding school enrollment in 1970 are Arizona 11,925; New Mexico 6,789; Oklahoma 2,214; Utah 2,145; Kansas 1,031; South Dakota 1,257.)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates 219 elementary and secondary schools in 15 states to educate 49,265 native pupils who live on or near Indian reservations. Of this number, 28,296 are in boarding schools, and 5,322 are for day pupils attending boarding schools. The rest, 15,647, are in BIA day schools.

These pupils are about one-quarter of all pupils residing on Indian reservations — the rest attend public schools or private schools. Considering off-reservation people, the BIA actually educates only about one-fifth of all Indian pupils.

BIA schools are unique in American education in that (except for a few experimental schools) both their funding and control are independent of the communities served. The BIA has that authority.

Because of dilapidated buildings, staff inadequacies, and lack of supplies, it is often assumed that BIA school systems are inadequately funded. But rather than too little money, the authors of the report wondered why Congress had provided so much money — and so little accountability. Why, they wondered, does the ordinary public school seem to do comparatively well on just \$743, and the BIA school so poorly on \$1641 per pupil? Why are BIA schools of such poor quality and so expensive?

Oklahoma, for instance, spends \$489 per pupil in its public schools, but the BIA in Oklahoma spends \$2701 per day school pupil. In California, the state spends \$719 per student, while the BIA spends \$2538.

These BIA expenditures would suggest expensive schools, staffed by specialists. And yet most evidence is that specialists are sorely needed and lacking in most BIA schools.

The bureaucratic process of allocating funds from Washington to area offices to agencies and then to schools, and the reverse process of budget requests, is blamed for much of the trouble and inconsistency. Personnel shifts, even, cause changes of priorities along the way. There is no formal set of criteria for the allocation of funds.

While there may be ways to bring some accountability into the system, and to guarantee that the needs of each Indian pupil are met, the history of Indian education would indicate that success is unlikely.

Until Indian education is controlled by Indian pupils, parents, and communities, it is likely that American tax dollars will be misspent. More money isn't the answer.

(Education administrators and other interested parties may obtain copies of this technical report by writing to The Legal Support Project, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1990 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036)



The squirrel was excellent in climbing until he developed frustration in flying class where his teacher made him start from the group up instead of the treetop down. He also developed charley-horses from over-exertion and then got a C in climbing and D in running.

The eagle was a problem child and disciplined severely. In the climbing class he beat all the others to the top of the tree, but insisted on using his own way to get there.

At the end of the year, an abnormal eel that could swim exceedingly well and also run, climb, and fly a little, had the highest average and was valedictorian.

The prairie dogs stayed out of school and fought the tax levy because the administration would not add digging and burrowing to the curriculum. They apprenticed their children to a badger and later joined the groundhogs and gophers to start a successful private school.

— from the Northern Cheyenne News

Who Will Educate Our Children?



Native children, like all children in all cultures, acquire the attitudes, values, and behaviors of the culture in which they grow up.

At the present time, most native children are "socialized" by European forces: the media, the schools, the churches, the police — even by health officials. Experts who study the way children are brought up by native parents often say that native children have a "pathological upbringing" when contrasted with the "normal practices" of whites.

We have a duty to question the goals of white socialization, as well as looking for alternatives. This is particularly true in regard to political socialization.



Native children are going to learn political attitudes, values, and beliefs. From the first days of school, the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag is part of political education. Thus there is no use wondering whether children should learn political attitudes and behavior, but rather for what purpose and by what means will they learn them. In the past, native children have been systematically politicized and exploited by white institutions whose purposes and goals were contrary to the best interest of native people. What native people must do is to take charge of the process, and give it a direction that will be of benefit to native peoples — all peoples, in fact.

If we do not do this, we must accept that there will be still another generation of native children politicized by white people.

At the center of political socialization of native peoples is the effort by individuals and groups in political power to maintain that power. Basic to this function is the necessity of indoctrinating the young with the notion that the current political system, and current native/white relations, is, if not quite perfect, much superior to other political systems. "You would still be savages if it weren't for white civilization," Indians are told in one way or another. "Think what would happen to you if the Communists were in power!"

Thus native children are taught to prefer the status-quo and to resist change — and at the same time knowing from their own experience that change is necessary.

Native people are living a legacy of oppression and genocide which dates back to 1492 — and if there is one area that needs radical change in this country, it is that this legacy should not continue. Yet white groups and institutions in North America are committed to continuation of the present patterns. A few groups are committed to "gradual change". "We know there are problems but things can't be changed overnight," native people are told.

These groups must be reminded that it is partly their advocacy of "gradual change" that has produced this legacy of oppression, and the current exploitation and explosive relationship between native people and whites.

As native people struggle for change, the question arises — are there lessons to be learned from people who have struggled with oppression in other lands. Thus AKWESASNE NOTES has carried article after article on Rhodesia, Puerto Rico, Australia, Micronesia. But it is necessary to remember that the lessons of developing nations emerging from colonization where the oppressed peoples are in the majority of the population is now very different from that of native people.

We can dismiss the mass media and white government agencies from any role in the effective political socialization of our children. They are not able to do the job even if they are willing to do so.

Then can families do the job? This too seems unlikely. Native families are often disrupted by the oppression they have faced, and are preoccupied with the basic necessities of survival. Most native parents themselves have had a white political education that has left them insecure about their beliefs, if not accepting of them.

Then can churches do the job? Hardly. Churches have historically had the role of socializing native people to accept their fate in exchange for a better life in heaven, and by insisting on such Christian values as the "meek shall inherit the earth" have effectively kept entire native communities from rising up in wrath at the treatment which has been imposed upon them. While there are signs that some denominations are shaking loose from this role, they must spend a lot of thought in redefining just who they are and what their role is in contemporary native affairs.

If the churches, then, cannot do the job, what about the schools? With more and more native people in education, can they socialize and politicize native children in skills that will lead to good lives, to being good human beings? In urban areas, most native children are a part of white school systems, taught 95% white values. Sometimes courses in cultural heritage or Indian field trips fill in that other 5% with some non-controversial native content, but more than that can not be expected.

Rural public schools near areas of native population are, generally speaking, even less cosmopolitan and able to give native children a sound political education. Were it not for the massive federal support for Indian education, it is likely that Indian children would not even be welcome there. And as for schools on the reservation, unless there is total control by the Indian community, it is fantasy to expect that federal governments will be able to simultaneously "civilize" and provide freedom.

All of the current innovations in education — team teaching, individualized instruction, preschool education, etc. — all this means nothing without community control. In fact, these innovations are designed to make the current system more effective — not to create a new purpose and content in native education.

In fact, we must consider that even the form of white schools is political education. What does it mean that chairs are lined in a row with the teacher at the front? What does it mean that children must obtain permission to go to the toilet? Is not being conditioned to follow orders and respond to bells part of a political process?

Nothing less than a total reorganization of the schools in native communities is likely to have a dramatic effect on the educational process to bring about positive change for native peoples.

Community control of education is the most promising agent of change. But we are in danger if community control really means only being able to operate the existing system. Or if community control means just having native teachers doing the same tasks which white teachers did formerly. Or if communities getting educational control simply re-create a new school based on advice of experts following white models.

For community control to have any real possibility for success, large scale change in the whole educational process is necessary. Certification requirements must be changed so that communities are able to hire whoever they want, including their own residents, to man their schools.

We must re-think all of the traditional requirements for school personnel, and determine what are the necessary requirements for those who will influence our children's lives. The requirements for helping young Mohawks, or Navajos, or Lakotah, become competent members of their own society and the world community may be completely different than what white people want for their children.

Then there is the problem of control of budget. Most native communities are so exploited that it is impossible for them to have funds for education until the drain on their own resources is ended. But money is power in North American society, and until parents and students have some control over budget, community control is a farce.

So in the long run, native people are likely to have to depend on some other social institution if their children are to have the necessary social and political skills to challenge their status in 20th century America.

While schools are touted as the hope for native children — "get an education and get ahead" — they have continued to provide poor technical training and subversive socialization which have combined to continue the subjugation of native peoples. That is, native young people not only receive such a poor education that they cannot compete in American society, but they are taught to distrust themselves and to place so much faith in white peoples that they cannot operate even in their own societies.

But an even more immediate reason for not using the schools as they exist is that the politicians will not allow it. They are aware of the good synonym that politics is power, and it is impossible to discuss institutional change without dealing with power.

It happens, and possibly with justification, that whites are particularly threatened when discussions begin to center around "Indian power". Whites feel they

can't live with the twin notion of "Indianness" and power. These notions seem to bestir some suppressed primeval fear in whites. Even when the power which native people demand is no more than the power white people take for granted, there is a fear.

Whatever the origins of their fears, their concern is legitimate because a knowledge of the dynamics of power and the ways in which native people are kept from exercising power is a very volatile mixture. And it is precisely this kind of knowledge which should be the foundation of native political education.

What must be created — or revived — are institutions which parallel the schools and which have as their goals, the politicizing of native children. The "freedom schools" which are beginning to emerge in urban areas and on reservations are the bare beginnings of this parallel system. Native people must nurture and support these beginning efforts — however inadequate they may seem to be — because they are the key to long range survival.

Somehow, we must help our children deal with the first question of their lives: "How to survive as a native person in a white, racist, Western, 'progressive' country?"

Others have answered this question for their own people. Black Muslims, Jews, Catholics and others have developed parallel educational institutions.

Remember how old people used to travel about, visiting families, telling stories and tribal histories and helping to answer the question of who we are and why we are here. Remember how various medicine societies held doings, ceremonies, and events that were spiritual, social, and educational all in one? (And we must also answer the question of how these customs can be revitalized for children whose ears are glued to transistor radios and whose eyes are glued to television.)



If native people choose to deliberately politicize their children, there are likely to be at least three major positive consequences: a therapeutic effect, a content effect, and in the long run, some direct effects on white institutions. Unless we do deliberately politicize our children, they will grow up to believe that being white is the only possible identity for them. Children must be taught that they have a culture which is valid yet in the 1970s, that they have a history of which they can be proud, and that constant living of their tradition is likely to be a key to their survival as human beings amidst a rapidly decaying American system.

Perhaps the most important result of politicizing our youth will be that they will be able to deal with white exploitation and oppression with more energy, less fear, and more perception than their elders. We now have enough experience with the ways of American society to deal with it on something more sound than trial and error.

Perhaps more important than the knowledge of the correct action will be the commitment to action. Young people with solid political/social foundations will have a commitment to change. They will be brainwash-proof.

If we do not survive as a people, following the instruction and purpose of the Creation, then, we must ask, what is the purpose of survival?

(This essay is adapted to fit the native situation from an article, "Politicizing Black Children," by Ernest D. Washington, who teaches at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The article was originally presented at a meeting of the American Educational Research Association, and was reprinted in the Black Scholar, a journal of Black Studies and Research, published at POBox 908, Sausalito, California 94965. We are grateful to the author, and to that journal, from whom we have quoted and paraphrased and adapted freely.)



— photo by Betty Steel

A Look At The U.S. Census

The Census of the United States and Canada is a mixed blessing. Some reservations object to census-takers as an infringement on their sovereignty and privacy, and more than one native person has gone to jail rather than to answer questions. But nonetheless, the 1970 census was taken, and there are some figures of interest that emerge from a subject report issued in June, entitled American Indians.

The median age of the Indian population is nearly eight years younger than the population as a whole.

Nearly half of the Indian population lives in urban areas, and only 28% live on reservations. The remainder live in rural areas.

More than half the Indian population lives in just five states — Arizona, California, New Mexico, Oklahoma and North Carolina. 85% of all Indians live in 18 states.

The median income of Indian families was \$5832 in 1969. For the U.S. as a whole, it was \$9,590. Thus for every \$100 earned by an American family, its Indian counterpart got only \$61.

Nearly 40% of the Indian population was living below the low-income level in 1969, whereas the proportion for the U.S. population was 13.7%.

About 70% of all Indian males are employed in four broad occupational groups: craftsmen and foremen, operatives, laborers, and service workers. Only 9% are in the professional and technical ranks.

Median years of schooling was 9.8 for Indians 25 years and over, while the national median was 12.1 years. About 1/3 of all Indians 25 and over had completed high school, as compared to 52.3% of the total population. However, the story on some reservations is different: the median number of school years completed on the Navajo Reservation is just 4.1 years, and only 17% of persons 25 years and over had finished high school.

Nearly half of Indian families live in homes they are buying or which they own, as compared with 63% of the total population — not quite as many as a few centuries back when 100% of all native families owned their own home — and land.

Indian Population by Sex and Urban and Rural Residence:

On land occupied by the United States, most North American native peoples reside in the West. Only 45,720 live in the Northeast, 144,254 in the North Central states, and 194,406 in the South. More than half, 379,214, live in the West. For some reason, there are more females than males — in some areas, by more than 10%.

	total	rural	SOUTH ATLANTIC		
NEW ENGLAND			North Carolina	44,195	38,001
Massachusetts	4,237	891	Florida	6,392	
Connecticut	2,322	463	Virginia	4,862	
Maine	1,872	1,016	EAST SOUTH CENTRAL		
Rhode Island	1,417	193	Mississippi	3,791	3,213
MIDDLE ATLANTIC			Alabama	2,163	953
New York	25,560	8,399	Tennessee	1,432	337
Pennsylvania	5,543	1,133	Kentucky	1,322	388
New Jersey	4,255		WEST SOUTH CENTRAL		
EAST NORTH CENTRAL			Oklahoma	96,803	49,180
Wisconsin	18,776	11,336	Texas	16,921	
Michigan	16,012	5,471	MOUNTAIN		
Illinois	10,304		Arizona	94,310	77,868
Ohio	6,181		New Mexico	71,582	58,177
Indiana	3,305		Montana	26,385	21,315
WEST NORTH CENTRAL			Utah	10,551	
South Dakota	31,043	21,928	PACIFIC		
Minnesota	22,322	10,619	California	88,263	20,961
Kansas	8,261	2,131	Washington	30,824	14,722
Nebraska	6,671	3,439	Alaska	16,080	11,384
Missouri	4,890		Oregon	13,210	6,234

Other states: New Hampshire 310; Vermont 204; Iowa 2,924; Delaware 479; Maryland 3,886; District of Columbia 673; West Virginia 518; South Carolina 2,091; Georgia 2,271; Arkansas 2,088; Louisiana 4,519; Wyoming 4,717; Nevada 7,476; Hawaii 1,168.

Primary states with rural native peoples, in rank order: Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina, South Dakota, Montana; California, Washington, Alaska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, New York.

Primary states with farming native peoples, in rank order: North Carolina 9,253; Arizona 7,060; New Mexico 6,711; Oklahoma 5,161; South Dakota 3,331; Montana 3,100; Washington 1,181; North Dakota 1,113; Idaho 1,156; Utah 1,256; California 1,106; Minnesota 830; Wyoming 739.

The Urban Reservations

The following metropolitan areas have the largest urban Indian populations:

Los Angeles/Long Beach, California	23,908
Tulsa, Oklahoma	15,183
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12,951

AKWESASNE NOTES

San Francisco, California	12,041
Phoenix, Arizona	10,127
New York City, New York	9,984
Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota	9,911
Seattle/Everett, Washington	8,814
Tucson, Arizona	8,704
Chicago, Illinois	8,203
San Diego, California	6,007
San Bernardino/Riverside/Ontario, California	5,941
Albuquerque, New Mexico	5,882
Buffalo, New York	5,606
Dallas, Texas	5,500
Detroit, Michigan	5,203

Social Characteristics of the Indian Population by Urban and Rural Residence:

On a national average, 68.6% of native children are living with both parents. In some areas, particularly Utah (48%), Montana (51%) and South Dakota (58%), that figure is much lower, perhaps as some index of social disorganization.

More than 29,000 native people resided in "group quarters" when the census was taken, about half as inmates in institutions (13,817).

The census reported 149,122 native families. Of this number, there are 98,158 with children still under 18 years of age. And of this number, 17,978 had women as the head of the household. However, South Dakota reports almost 1/3 of families with children have a mother in charge.

Other statistics: the average number of children for married women is 4.5. However, for rural families, this increases to 5.4 children for farming families. In urban areas, such as Illinois, the figure drops to 2.8 children. Largest numbers of children are reported in Utah (6.8 for rural families) and Wisconsin (6.0).

Most native people reside in the state in which they were born, and in states of high native population, almost 100%. This would indicate that while there is a great deal of travel, native people remain close to their place of birth as contrasted to the highly mobile American society.

Over 14,000 native people were attending college at the time of the census. Nationally, 95% of children between 7 and 13 years of age were in school, but only 69% of those 5 and 6 years old. For the 14-17 group, about 86% were in school, and 25% of the 18-24 men and 20% of the 18-24 women. There are striking variations, with only 15% of college-age youth enrolled in Minnesota, for instance; North Dakota has twice as many men as women in college; Utah has 40% of college age women enrolled but only 30% of the men.

Nationally, 1/3 of native people are high school graduates, with a median age of 9.8 years of schooling. For rural farm peoples, figures drop to 1 in 5 graduating from high school.

Economic characteristics of the Indian population:

Only 55% of native males 16 years of age and older are in the labor force. Others are still in school, retired, disabled, etc. 35% of native women 16 and over are in the labor force. Nationwide, 11.6% of the male labor force is unemployed, and 10.2% of the female labor force.

There is much variation in these figures, however. Alaska has an unemployment rate of 25% in rural areas, with only 50% in the labor force, meaning that 3 of 8 are employed. North Dakota has an unemployment rate of 28.5%.

46,000 of the 190,000 employed native persons rely on government employment. In Alaska and North Dakota that figure reaches 50%.

The median income of a native employee in 1969 was \$3,509, with 3,570 persons earning over \$15,000. But 35,585 male workers earned under \$1,000.

The median income in Arizona was \$2,247 for men; in New York it was \$5,177. In South Dakota: \$1,743.

There were 11,751 families with incomes of under \$1,000; 12,340 more earned under \$2,000. This means that 38.3 percent are living below the "poverty level" designated by the U.S. Government. The average poverty family earns \$2,020 less than necessary to maintain minimum standards. 40,153 children live in these families.

Most tribal groups have more persons living off the reservation than they do living with the tribe. Those tribes which have half or more on the reservation are:

Apache 51%; Crow 70.9%; Flathead 56.5%; Menominee 52.2%; Navajo 61.9%; Palouse & Topenish 69.4%; Papago & Pima 64.5%; Pueblo 70.2%; Sioux 53.4%; Ute 64.8%; Warm Springs 61.5%.

States with high poverty ratios are: Arizona 60.4%, New Mexico 53.7%, South Dakota 55.6%, Utah 55.1%.

The value of the average rural native farm home is only \$4,700. Most rural residents live in homes built in 1939 or before.

There is a great variation between income of native people in various metropolitan areas. In Washington, D.C., for instance, people of native descent involved in government activities, mostly, earn an average of \$8,197, while the average in Tucson, Arizona, is only \$2,731. The extreme is even more marked at the reservation: Papago reservation residents, for instance, earn only an average of \$1,857. Half the people earn under \$1,346 on that reservation.

A sampling of percentages where there is wide-spread native poverty (% of persons below poverty level):

Fort Smith, Arkansas/Oklahoma 51.3%; Albuquerque, N.M. 34.4%; Phoenix, Arizona 44.5%; Tucson, Arizona 62.6%. On reservations: Blackfeet: 51.3%; Cherokee, N.C. 55.0%; Cheyenne River 58.2%; Fort Apache, Arizona 55.7%; Gila River, Arizona 57%; Hopi 66.9%; Joint Use Area 77.4%; Navajo 64.5%; Papago 78.6%; Pine Ridge 55.4%; Rosebud 62.3%; San Carlos 63.8%; Standing Rock 61.5%; Zuni 50.1%.

And among tribal groups: Apache 46.8%; Lumbee 40.9%; Navajo 60.2%; Ute 50.2%.

Home ownership shows some interesting patterns. In some cities, such as Detroit, Albuquerque, or Philadelphia, about half of all native people live in their own homes while the other half rent. In other cities, such as Chicago, San Francisco, and Milwaukee, fewer than 1 of 4 families live in their own homes.

While it should be obvious, the census confirms that reservation living is important to the continuation of the native languages. Only 31.9% of urban people reported native languages as their mother tongue. The rest said that English (50%) or Spanish (3.2%) was their language. On reservations, languages are slipping, but stronger than in the cities. 58% of reservation people said that their native language was their mother tongue. Persons 65 and over on reservations reported 72% as having native mother tongues.



Population of tribes in the United States, with some notes on the Canadian population: (most native people do not consider the border as applying to them, for it was put there to separate two groups of white people who could not get along):

Achomawi, Atsugewi, Chimariko, Pit River and Shasta	980
Alaskan Athabaskan	2 125
Apache	22 993
Arapaho	2 993
Arikara	928
Assiniboin (plus 1,059 in Canada)	2 219
Blackfeet	9 921
Caddo	1 207
Cahuilla, Luiseno, Gabrieleno & Serrano	1 274
Blackfeet (plus 8,030 living in Canada-side)	9 921
Caddo	1 207
Cahuilla, Luiseno, Gabrieleno & Serrano	1 274
Canadian & Latin American in U.S.	7 282
Catawba, Oto, Missouri & Iowa	2 366
Chehalis	1 660
Cherokee	66 150
Cheyenne	6 872
Chickasaw	5 616
Chinook	609
Chippewa (plus 50,431 in Canada-side)	41 946
Choctaw & Houma	23 562
Coeur d'Alene	440
Columbia-Wenatchee	33
Colville & Lakes	3,180
Comanche	4,250
Costanoan, Washo, Yana & Yuki	1 144
Colville & Lakes	3 180
Comanche	4 250
Costanoan, Washo, Yana & Yuki	1 144
Cree (plus 70,403 in Canada)	2 169
Creek, Alabama & Coushatta	17 004
Crow	3 779
Delaware & Stockbridge (plus 610 in Canada)	2 926
Flathead	3 702
Gros Ventre (Apsinika)	1 519
Hidatsa & Mandan	1 705
Hupa	998
Iroquois (plus 21,263 in Canada) (includes 6,105 Mohawk; 5,673 Oneida; 4,644 Seneca, and 5,051 Onondaga, Tuscarora, Cayuga & Wyandotte)	21 473
Kalapuya	95
Karok	1 406
Kato, Mattole, Tolowa & Wailak	644
Kaw, Omaha, Osage, Ponca & Quawpaw	6 949
Kickapoo	1 249
Kiowa	4 337
Klamath, Modoc, Cayuse & Mokala	2 185
Kliikitat	21
Kootenay (plus 446 in Canada)	600
Lumbee	27 520
Maidu & Miwok	2 546
Makah	1 482
Menominee	4 307
Miami, Piankashaw & Wea	1 090
Navajo	96 743
Nespelem, Okanagan, Sanpoil & Spokane	1 674
New England & Long Island Algonquians (plus 11,713 in Canada-side)	3 741
Nez Perce	1 987
Nooksak	505
Ottawa (plus 1,632 in Canada)	3 533
Palouse & Topenish	147
Papago & Pima	16 690
Pawnee	1 928
Pomo	2 626
Potawatomi (plus 863 in Canada)	4 626
Powhatan	1 350
Pueblo	30 971
(includes 7,236 Hopi; 10,087 Keresan; 6,342 Tanoan, and 7,306 Zuni.)	
Puget Sound Salish	2 810
(plus 20,989 in Canada. That includes Bella Coola 597; Comox 828; Cowichan 6,031; Lillooet 2,494; Nlakyapamuk 2,742; Okanagan 1,533; Puntlatch 42; Secheelt 471; Semiahmoo 24; Shuswap 3,862; Songish 1,133; Squamish 1,232.)	
Quileute & Chimakum	205
Sac and Fox & Mesquakie	2 182
Salinan & Chumash	360
Seminole	5 055

EARLY AUTUMN, 1973

PAGE 34

Religion



(There are many organizations which solicit funds "for the Indians". Some of these groups provide genuinely-needed services — and some seem to fatten their own bellies. In an attempt to help readers determine which is which, AKWESASNE NOTES wrote some of the groups soliciting funds by mail to determine native involvement in the programs. Some of the groups failed to respond. The letter which follows, however, adequately answered all the questions posed to it. The Editors.)

St. Labre Indian School
Ashland, Montana 59003

Dear Friend:

I have received your request for "any kind of statement of finances, sources of income, Indian participation in control of expenditures, and direction of school and other things such as these." I sincerely appreciate the interest of yourself and the staff of AKWESASNE NOTES in the work of St. Labre Indian School, which serves the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Indian people.

I will devote the first part of this letter to a description of St. Labre Indian School's involvement with the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Indian people.

In 1883, a soldier, Private George Yoakam, stationed at Fort Keogh near Miles City, Montana, recognized the hard times experienced by the Northern Cheyenne. He contacted Bishop Brondel, and told him of the Indian people — homeless and landless — who were roaming the Tongue River Valley. On March 29, 1884, St. Labre Indian School became a reality. Four Ursuline Sisters arrived from Toledo, Ohio. They had responded to the request of Bishop Brondel for priests and nuns to work among the Northern Cheyenne.

St. Labre Indian School made a humble beginning in 1884 with the construction of a log-cabin school operated by the Sisters. The hardships during the years that followed were many. At times, due to a lack of funds, the school was at the verge of closing. In 1954, the school enrollment was only 64 children. In the years that followed, however, the school grew as the result of many people's generosity. In 1965, St. Labre Indian School was asked to extend its support to St. Xavier School on the Crow Indian Reservation. And in 1967, this support was extended to a small grade school at Pryor on the same reservation. Today, St. Labre is responsible for the welfare and education of more than 800 Northern Cheyenne and Crow Indian children.

St. Labre Indian School at Ashland offers education of kindergarten through high school. The grade school has an enrollment of 375 children. The high school has an enrollment of 200 stu-

dents. About half of the children live at the school during the week. They arrive by bus on Monday morning and return to their families on weekends and during the summer months. Daily bus transportation is also offered students living in one of the four Indian communities on the Northern Cheyenne reservation. During the week, the children receive not only a very thorough and well-planned education, but they also receive three free meals a day, a bed of their own, all types of clothing, and any medical attention they may require.

St. Labre Indian School is fully accredited with the Montana State Board of Education. Besides offering a regular program of elementary and secondary education, St. Labre began a commercial school in 1947, and has recently introduced a vocational training program. In order to better meet the needs of the Indian students attending St. Labre, a number of special education programs have been introduced: Follow-Through for grades one through four, Remedial Reading, Special Education for slow learners and the retarded, Bilingual/Bicultural Education, Ethnic Studies.

St. Labre has encouraged local Indian control and direction of its school. School policy and management are determined by a seven-member Indian school board. Five members are Northern Cheyennes and two members are from the Crow Tribe. Parent involvement has been enthusiastic in the education of the young children through the use of the Follow-Through Program. The grade school employs 21 Indian teacher aids while the high school has 5 such aids. Of these 26 Indian teacher aids, 15 are working toward full certification as teachers. The high school also has two Indian teachers who are fully certified.

Since St. Labre offers the best education available to the Indian students of the area, more and more are seeking admission. They are of all faiths. The Catholic students number 50% or less. The other faiths represented are Baptist, Mormon, Pentecostal, Mennonites, and the Native American Church.

Religion is taught as an optional subject to those who wish to attend these classes. However, the Indian students are encouraged by the school staff to take an interest in native religious ceremonies and to learn about these ceremonies from the elders of their respective tribes. It is felt that many of these things are too sacred to be the subject of classroom teaching.

A more comprehensive trade-school program in our school has been our dream for many years. We want to prepare the Indian youth for employment opportunities on and off the reservation and to produce skilled workers for the jewelry manufacturing industry we have started on our reservation.

St. Xavier School located on the Crow Reservation is supported by St. Labre.

Pagans & other white folks...

(Mohawk religious teachings say that at one time, all people of the world were given "an original instruction". And we've known that this seemed to be true, for we've found yellow people, brown people, black people, and other red people with knowledge similar to our own. But where were the white people? Perhaps these definitions of words from the English language will give some clue — for they are words which are often attached to native people who go on holding their natural ways and instructions.)

The word "Pagan" comes from the Latin word, "Paganus", meaning country dweller.

The word "Heathen" simply refers to the people who lived on the heaths in Briton, the place where heather grows. They were a people who, for a long time, held on to their original teachings.

The word "Devil" is specifically a Christian concept — they are the only people in the world who recognize him. Actually,

the word for "devil" comes from the same word as "divine" and comes from the Sanscrit, meaning "little god." During the persecution of the pagan peoples in the late Middle Ages, whenever a defendant spoke of the Horned God who represented the animal kingdom, the court recorder wrote the word "devil" (little God) for to have referred to "God" as spoken by the accused would be blasphemy for Christians.

The word "witch" comes from northwestern Europe, where the medicine people and spiritual leaders were known as "wicca" which is an Anglo-Saxon word meaning "wise ones." During centuries of persecution not unlike what happened to Indians at the hands of missionaries, the white spiritual leaders, known as "wicca" or "witches" were killed.

(Thanks to Tim Zell of the Church of All Worlds for this information.)

A Letter From :

St. Labre Indian School



ASHLAND, MONTANA 59003

It offers an education program for grades one through eight. The school has an enrollment of 170 children, 130 of whom board at the school Monday through Thursday. The school is managed and directed by a seven-member Indian school board. Seven aides are employed by the school. Another small grade school at Pryor with an enrollment of 60 children is also supported by St. Labre. This school does not have a school board, but is managed by an all-Indian parish council.

The staff at St. Labre has also been interested in supporting and improving the economic, social, and religious life of the Indian people with whom it is associated. It is felt that all these aspects of human life affect the children and the quality of education they are able to receive. Since alcoholism, or more accurately, problem drinking, affects a number of families on the Northern Cheyenne reservation, an Alcoholics Anonymous Program was initiated by St. Labre in 1966. Many have benefited from this program which today is operated by the Northern Cheyenne Council on Alcoholism and Northern Cheyenne Alcoholism Project.

Employment has been a problem on the reservation. Realizing that job security and a regular paycheck bring about family security and a sense of dignity, and human respect, St. Labre has made every effort to create job opportunities for the Indian people it serves. In 1955, a plastics factory was established to create premiums for appeals to support the school. Later the factory expanded into the field of costume jewelry — its major item of production today.

Besides the jewelry factory, Indian people are employed in the operation of the three schools and in running the appeals campaign for the support of the schools.

Another effort directed at creating employment for Indian people has been the Indian Action Training Program. Members of the St. Labre staff were instrumental in aiding a group of local Indian people form an independent corporation for the beginning of this program. The Indian Action Training Program is an all-Indian-managed corporation that is training men from the reservation in construction skills with the goal of eventually forming an independent construction company as well as training mechanics and heavy equipment operators wherever they are needed. At present, it is using facilities at St. Labre for the training of its men.

St. Labre's Cheyenne Home is a special project. It seeks to provide for the needs of Indian children from broken homes or those who have been orphaned. At present we have 32 children in the home — only two are orphans. Every effort is made to create a home-like atmosphere for the children. An Indian family lives with the children and provides not only the mother-father image, but also gives the children experiences of family life.

A low-cost housing project on the grounds of St. Labre was begun to help the Indian people improve their living conditions and offer housing closer to work and school. This is an FHA-approved project falling under the 221d3 program. The school sponsored the project and also supervises it. Forty homes were built. All of the homes are occupied and the rent varies depending on the income of the family. Rent supplement is paid by the Federal Government.

St. Labre has been interested in the quality of social life offered the Indian people. For this reason, it has built one social center for the use of the Crow Indian people at Lodge Grass, Montana. At present, at the request of the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council, a social center is being built at Lame Deer, Montana. St. Labre has also actively worked with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe in sponsoring an annual pow-wow.

St. Labre's staff is dedicated to the belief that the native religious life of the Indian people with whom it works is extremely important. Members of the staff have actively supported native religious ceremonies, which have included the Sun Dance, the Renewal of the Sacred Arrows, and prayer meetings of the Native American Church. For example, for the beginning of the school year, members of the staff sponsored a prayer meeting with members of the Native American Church. All prayed that God might send his blessings on the children as they returned to school.

If one can summarize the goal to which St. Labre has dedicated itself, it might be expressed: self-determination for the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Indian people. We are dedicated to creating the atmosphere and life-situation in which this can take place. About a month ago, the first glimpse that this might be coming about appeared. A group of Northern Cheyenne men approached the staff with an idea they wanted to put into effect. They had decided to form their own corporation for granting services to their people. Since then they have formed themselves into the Northern Cheyenne Research and Human Development Association. They have obtained an initial grant from St. Labre to begin their dream of self-determination.

St. Labre Indian School is supported entirely from donations received from appealing to the public. All programs depend on the success of our appeals for help. No use is made of professional fund-raising organizations. Every contribution goes directly to the school and its various programs.

This briefly describes our program with its hopes and dreams. I truly hope that this explanation helps you to understand at least in a small way what St. Labre Indian School is attempting to do to help the Northern Cheyenne and the Crow to determine for themselves what they want to do.

With best wishes always, I remain,

Emmett Hoffman

TOSAN

318 N. Tacoma, Indianapolis, Indiana

What is a Potlatch? The Winston School Dictionary defines it: "A Chinook word, meaning a winter festival, esp. among the Indians of Canada's Pacific Coast, at which lavish gifts were exchanged, chiefly for fame or prestige: now forbidden by the Canadian Government."

Still, the Indians of this area were allowed ceremonial dances. . . They used the old costumes — some of them 300 years old — well cared-for and preserved by the families they had been passed down to. The Canadian Government would like to photograph the costumes for posterity. Would the Indians allow this? Yes, they would. Well, they couldn't be photographed in their natural setting. Would the Indians lend them to the Provincial Museum? Indeed, yes. So the ancient costumes were forwarded to the provincial government. To date they sit molding in trunks in the basement. Why? Because the Great White Fathers feel they are safer there than they are in the hands of the very people who preserved them in the first place.

Brothers and Sisters, letters to the provincial government asking for the return of the costumes bring no replies, or else legal documents stating they were given as gifts to the Province of British Columbia. They are not tagged and displayed, but rather never seen.

. . . If the Indian wants to worship traditionally do you seriously think it is lawfully accepted and recognized? It is not! We cannot be born in our own manner, we cannot marry in our own manner, and Manito help us, we cannot bury our dead in our own manner! Nothing sacred to us is sacred to the white man.

Dee Ball



The NAMI News

National Association of Metis Indians, Route 1, Morehead, Kentucky 40351

I recently received a letter from a brother who felt that he had a problem. This man is 5/8 Indian; however, he is 3/8 black. He felt NAMI would not want him because of the black blood he had.

I have only asked for one's degree of Indian blood, and . . . I don't care what the other part is. . . The prophecies tell us that the Day of Purification is nearing and it is my opinion that all races had better start practicing a true brotherhood, and Indian people especially had better start getting themselves together.

—Bob Christian, Editor



Inuit Monthly

251 Bank St., Room 405. Ottawa, Ont.

Let us assume you are a rancher in southern Canada. The rancher has a piece of land where his house, with his family, cattle, horses, chickens and other creatures are raised. He has good grass to feed his animals and is a successful man. He is not so rich, but he is happy.

In this industrious age, progress arrives at his door. He is doing fine, but we have to think of all Canadians. It is for their well-being that progress has arrived here. He is told that an oil exploration company has received a permit from the government to drill on his land. He is told that this is for his own good. Now he will make lots of money working for the oil company. After the oil crew has left, he is told, he can go back to ranching. He is reminded there is a shortage of oil and that he should help other Canadians.

The arrival of such unexpected visitors has not only taken him by surprise, but also made him worry because he does not know how to do work with rigs. The rancher wrote and protested to the government, but in the meantime, progress continues and the exploration crew start blasting the owner's land with dynamite-seismic blasting. Then they start drilling. The crew is composed of experts brought in by the exploration company.

The rancher's protest is in vain, so he decides to ask for compensation. His land is being wrecked and he fears for his animals. How will they survive all this destruction? He is told by the government that he had used tractors and caterpillars to work on his field. Surely, he is told, his field can survive a few extra pieces of machinery and equipment.

The horses and cows start wandering off to other people's property because the grass and plant life is not good anymore on the rancher's pasture. To top all this off, it has been decided that pipelines are necessary and they will be put across his land. It is announced that he will be informed and consulted.

The liaison crew comes to tell him pipelines will be installed. He is told that his animals will use them as wind-breakers. He would like to help other Canadians, but he is worried about his children and grandchildren. Even when he is told that there is enough oil and gas on his property to employ him for life, he wonders what sort of life his children and grandchildren will lead. Are they going to hang their heads in shame because he could not stop invaders or that he could not find a job after the exploration crew has left? Will it pain him that his children could not continue his ranching?

A few years later, we see the effects of progress. The rancher and his children are complete strangers to each other. This is unavoidable in this technological age. He and his family, like the rest of the families, have progress. Everything is a lot better: tap water, septic tank, flush toilet, furnace, electric stove, telephone and electricity. He misses his old way of life and he misses the idea of working with his children.

The Industrial Age is here. He feels the splendor and sadness in the atmosphere. No horses, cows, or chickens. Everything is quiet. The rancher sadly walks to the Welfare Department. Progress!



Native Press

(POBox 2338, Yellowknife, N.W.T.)

Our enemy is our silence when the truth needs to be heard. Our enemy is liquor which we turn to so we can forget our problems. Our enemy is our young people forgetting about the wisdom of the old people.



James Wah-Shee

We are strong and healthy people with good, clear minds. We can find the answers more easily than we think. Sometimes we do not use our strength in the right ways. We turn on our own people, like a dog team fighting among itself. When this happens, the sled can go nowhere and neither can we.

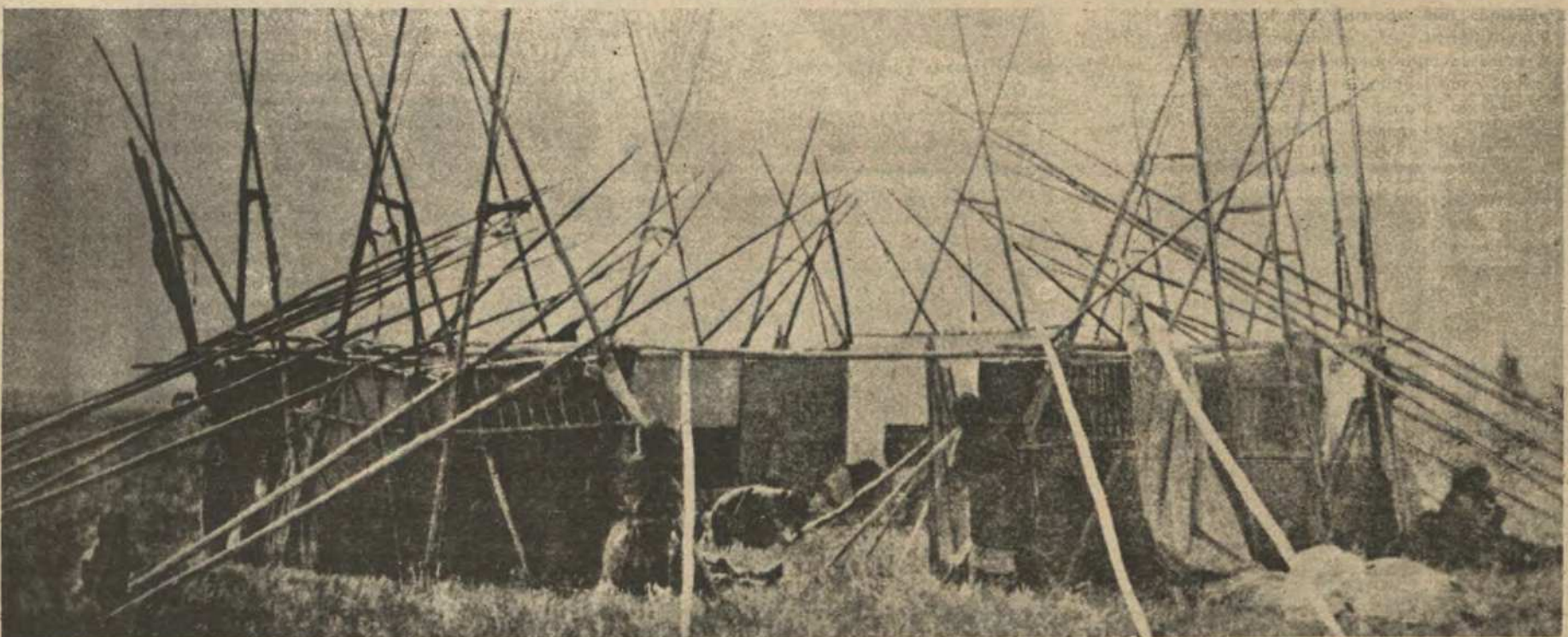
A long time ago, we were all together. Every tribe was like a family and every chief was chosen as a wise leader. We have not been that close in a long time, and I know it hurts and confuses us all. But I am sure of this one thing — I believe we will stop what has happened to us. Now is the time that everyone will come together again.

Do not lose faith: it will take time. But I am sure it will happen, and when it does, we will be happy again. This will be our really lasting gift to our children.

— James Wah-Shee, President Indian Brotherhood of NWT upon his election to a 2nd term



The American Indian Press Association has grown into a major force of communications for the native peoples of this land. . . and much of the credit goes to Chuck Trimble, left, who was executive director and who now is director of the National Congress of American Indians, and Richard LaCourse, right, who is head of the AIPA's Press Service. (Photos by Native People)



The Sun Dance is the centre of the Blackfoot culture. This sacred ceremony has not been performed more than a dozen times by the entire Blackfoot Confederacy in the last twenty-five years. The vow of the virgin and ceremonies of the various societies have all but left a silent moan in distorted history books. What is believed today to be a Sun Dance to the layman, both Indian and non-Indian, is a mere encampment — an ember of what was once a glowing way of life. "I am proud to be an Indian!" To whom am I addressing? To myself? To life? To the giver of life? To a diety? Or am I once again addressing the press and the world — hopefully with financial return? Am I to be, or a being of "I"? Is my life suspended? My past displayed in a showcase of museums? My future left to the whims of wit? (Kainai News, Box 808, Cardston, Alberta)

— photo courtesy Glenbow Alberta Institute, Calgary

Health :



NATIVE HEALTH COULD IMPROVE BY USE OF TRADITIONAL FOODS, DIET

Albuquerque, New Mexico — A University of New Mexico School of Medicine survey has discovered that malnutrition among Indians of that state would not exist if Indians were eating their traditional foods.

William Elliott, director of the nutritional improvement program, said that experts had examined the foods indigenous to New Mexico tribal groups.

"Our studies found that Indian native foods, when consumed in their natural form, such as kernels of corn leached with lime (ashes) and ground to make tortillas or bread, are quite nutritional." He said that "it is when these foods are commercialized, or when the Indians desert their indigenous staples for convenience foods, that the nutritional values go way down and health suffers."

Interestingly enough, the trained medical investigators report that they find it difficult to spot retarded children within the close family and community life of the Indian people. Such children aren't singled out, get showered with lots of love, and have a place in the community, they say.

Any campaign to encourage the good use of traditional foods will come up against the slick commercialism of the American food industry. As New Mexico Lieutenant Governor Robert Mondragon says, "The regular commercials put out by the food industries are fairy tales for my people. They give them false information on what is good for them. Our Mexican and Spanish-American children are confused. Wheaties, the Breakfast of Champions, are what they hear about, but posales (whole corn) is what they know. It's in their homes, and much healthier for them. They like it. Why should they change to anything else?"

In the schools, Mondragon says, preconceived Anglo notions of nutrition are forced on the children, inevitably and unintentionally making them feel that the food they have at home is inferior.

The current food shortages in North America are just the beginning, economists say — and if native people understand the message, that could be a blessing for them. Medicinepeople say that a return to the foods that belong here, and are given by the Creation, will return native people to a new strength.

If native people followed the way of life given to them by the Creator, rising prices and talk of famine would be of little significance. But land is more and more important: as Americans become squeezed into urban pockets and the country-side is emptied, land is falling into the hands of large corporations. They are not really interested in producing food — their task is to produce profits. People in skyscraper apartments cannot grow their own food, and now they must turn to corporations which own the land, the equipment, and even the supermarkets.

Hunger in America means lack of money, not lack of food. American farmers are plowing under thousands of tons of potatoes. Grain sits in warehouses around the world. Baby chicks are killed because feed costs are so high.

Stanislaus County, in central California, smack dab in the lushest farmland in the world, became an official Hunger Disaster Area in December, 1969, when thousands of unemployed people in the area did not have money to buy food from the fertile fields of their own county — while surplus food was stuffing federal warehouses in the area.

In 1968, the U.S. Government paid big-time farmers and agribusiness \$4-billion to take 35 million acres of good soil out of production. The bumper crops which that land would produce would feed people well — but prices would fall. Yet, in the same year, a Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the U.S. discovered that there were 30 million malnourished American people, with close to 10 million on the edge of starvation.

Anyone with middle-class upbringing, or who already provide for their daily needs from their own gardens, may have difficulty understanding this. If so, they should wait until they are hungry, and then with empty pockets, stand in the middle of a supermarket. That is the situation many people are in, and that is what hunger means today.

An official of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) says there is enough food in the world to feed everyone. "There will be no danger of starvation in the next 10 to 15 years," he says. The same official added, "Whether or not people will have income to buy the food . . . is a different matter."

Check out these comparisons. China, Brazil, and the United States are more or less equal in land size. China has 700 million people, the U.S. 200 million, and Brazil 90 million. If lots of people means overpopulation and overpopulation means starvation, then China should be incomparably worse than the other two. Instead, Brazil reports 40 million hungry people, America has 30 million, and China has virtually none.

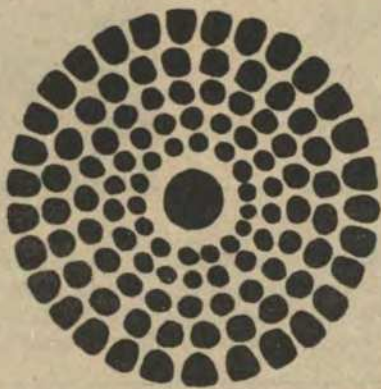
Brazil, with more arable land than all of Europe, is bought up by a tiny elite and by wealthy corporations from America and other Western nations. What do these landowners grow on their enormous plantations? Coffee. There is no food value in coffee, but there is a lot of profit in it. Profit, mostly, for the landlords. It's the same kind of talk that came out of Pine Ridge during the Wounded Knee occupation — Oglalas are starving while white ranchers raise cattle for New York markets.

It seems to be the same in much of the Third World — land that could produce basic foods goes to grow cotton and tea in India, coffee and cotton in Guatemala, bananas and coffee in Honduras, rubber in Indonesia, sugar, coffee and cotton in Mexico . . . the list can go on and on.

Strangely enough, it is mostly foods from North America — developed by native peoples — that has allowed the population of the world to grow and become healthy. Corn, of course, is the greatest gift of Indian agriculture. By hand cultivation and selection of superior types over thousands of years, native people were able to improve corn from a type of rough grass to a potent producer of food energy.

So-called Irish potatoes are really from Andean Indians, and tomatoes too came from South America. Melons and squash were widely planted and an important part of diet. Beans were a staple of native agriculture, particularly in the Southwest — dozens of different kinds.

Other foods which are common today were used by native people, but instead of cultivating them, they were gathered from the land. Onion, garlic, asparagus, strawberries, currants, rose hips, artichokes — and sunflowers.



Sunflowers are an interesting example of a tremendous food, which for some reason was not seized upon by the Europeans, and which today is not used much by native peoples who have turned to the grocery store instead of their own teachings.

The seeds, of course, are good to chew on — they contain carbohydrates, high protein value, and yet are few in calories. Crushed and boiled, the seeds produce oil for frying and cooking, and for making spreads. It preserves well.

Ground up, sunflower seeds make a flour that is so rich in iron that few foods — even egg yolk and liver — can match it. It is over 50% protein. What's more, the root is good eating too, and can be dried and ground for nutritious flour. In Russia, huge acreages are devoted to sunflowers, and that has been the case since the 19th century. But in the U.S., farmers say the seed is difficult to combine mechanically. Yet, the plants produce well over a ton of seeds per acre. The stalks can be fed to animals, too, or they can be burned as fuel. Scientists are finding they even can be processed into a fine-quality white paper. Some species of sunflower have sweet stalks, which can be processed like sugar cane.

Sunflowers are medicine too: the seeds are beneficial to the skin, and as a remedy for bleeding gums. They are helpful for rheumatism, and are especially noted for improving eyesight — especially in bright sunlight. But — they should be eaten raw, and not roasted or salted, which removes much of the medicinal value.

All these things were known to native peoples. Somewhere along the line, that knowledge has been all but lost, and native children now suffer.

Instead of things like sunflowers and corn, native peo-

ple are eating surplus food commodities distributed by the government.

In hearings this year before Senator George McGovern and the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs at the Pine Ridge Reservation, Melvin Gareau of the Cheyenne River Sioux Council at Eagle Butte said, "Two generations of our people have grown up eating the same commodities which are rich in carbohydrates but low in essential vitamins and proteins. As a result, diabetes is reported to be as much as five times as prevalent among Indians as among the general population. The frequency of gall bladder infection is high. Malnutrition is also a contributing factor in many other health problems, and illnesses such as infectious disease, retarded physical growth, high infant mortality, nutritional anemia, obesity, and chronic diseases."

His statement was confirmed by Dr. Henry Kaldenbaugh of the U.S. Public Health Service unit at Rosebud reservation.

"Nutritional deficiencies also relate to the mental functioning of a child, and extend to oral hygiene and vision problems, alcoholism, mental and emotional and behavioral diseases. Senility is now recognized as a result of long years of living on the marginal limits of nutritional adequacy."

Sunflower seeds can be roasted and ground into meal to make cakes or porridge. Sometimes the meal was mixed with water to make a beverage, or roasted and made into a hot drink, like coffee.

Alfalfa was recognized as a valuable food, mainly for medicinal teas. Mint and countless other herbs were similarly used. Seeds of wild buckwheat were collected and made into bread. Cat-tail roots were gathered and stored. Dandelion greens and milkweed and fern fiddleheads were favorite greens, as was watercress. In the Rocky Mountains, native people made meal and bread from rye.

But all these things were made by the Creator, without the use of chemical weed killers, artificial fertilizers, or pesticides — practices which turn good food into poisons. Foods were preserved by natural methods and sun drying, too, rather than with additives and antioxidants and nitrates notoriously bad for the health of living things.

Because good-quality inexpensive food is simply no longer available commercially, the sign is clear that if native people are going to eat well, they are going to have to do it themselves, possibly through cooperative efforts of family groups.

Land gone fallow must be cleaned up. As much land as possible should be planted with the kinds of food which can be stored in root cellars and dried. People working together can do it.

It may be that cooperative work will also be needed to keep children warm during the cold months — it is sure that when the energy shortages of propane and oil and coal cross North America, the places where deliveries will stop first will be the reservations and rural areas. Then the trees and shrubs will have to be used in ways which do not cause them to vanish, but so that their offspring will be around to help future generations.

Most of the food efforts can go into foods from the earth, rather than animals that must be fed. It does not make sense to grow food to feed to animals, and then eat the animals with a great loss. Perhaps when native people are providing their fruits and vegetables 100%, attention can be paid to raising meats.

The old people may still have the knowledge about how to dry squash, how to build a root cellar, how to cook corn-and-bean bread in boiling water. And, if they see there is some hope for their spoiled grandchildren, they might consider sharing that knowledge with us.

(Thanks to Cousin Julie Belle whose monthly newsletter comes from POBox 1067, Pomona, California 91769, and to Robert Rodale, whose magazine, Organic Gardening and Farming has many facts about natural foods, and is available on newsstands and for a \$6.85 annual subscription from 33 East Minor Street, Emmaus, Pa. 18049. Mother Earth News at POBox 38, Madison, Ohio 44057, is a tremendous source of how-to-do-it's for natural living.)



GOOD NEWS: CANCER IS ON INCREASE

Vancouver, British Columbia — Dr. G.C. Butler, regional director of the Health and Welfare Department, says cancer and cardiovascular failures are increasing among Indians.

However, he said, this is a sign that the over-all health of Indians is improving.

Medical Books In Review

Indian Herbology of North America, by Alma R. Hutchens, published by the Indian Institute of Homeopaths in Kumbakonam, South India. With assistance of Dr. V.R. Murty, N.G. Tretchikoff, and Natalie K. Tretchikoff. \$10.00 from AKWESASNE NOTES.

Had the medicine knowledge of native peoples in North America not been disrupted, this book might have been only a scientific exercise. As it is, it may be one of the means of restoring knowledge — and health — to the people of this Land.

Earlier explorers were impressed by the medical knowledge of the People they found here, for compared to North Americans, Europeans were a sickly lot in that day and age. They took back to Europe vast quantities of herbs and plants, many of which are cultivated there still today.

Tretchikoff is the owner of an established herbalist company in Windsor, Ontario. He was mentor of the author, who commenced her studies in 1964. They have collected every possible book and monograph in both English and Russian. Theirs has been the pursuit of neither the commercial "medicine man" nor the sterile scientists, but rather the serious student of the ways of the Creation.

Tretchikoff was in China from 1924-1951, and so has an appreciation of that country's use of herbs. Many native people raised their families on income derived from digging of ginseng and other herbs for use in Asian countries — and it is ironic that the suppression of herbal remedies by Americans has been so great that one must look today to far-away lands for information.

Russian material is probably the most progressive when it comes to North American herbs, and much of the available sources were translated for this volume.

The book has three parts: introductory and historical review, Indian medical plants and a bibliography with annotations. While there are portions that sound somewhat self-laudatory, the book is a worthy and valuable reference.

It is significant that the book was published in India by the Institute of Homeopaths, an institution established over 30 years ago by Dr. V.R. Murty. Why should it have been necessary for an American student, working with a Russian teacher with Chinese training, to publish a book in South India — about North American Indian herbology?

"The present book represents the first systematical monography in international literature on the Indian plants of North America," said Professor A.N. Kudrin, dean of the Pharmaceutical Faculty at the Schecheff Institute in Moscow, who had been assigned by the Board of Ministers of Russia to review the book. "This book is a significant event necessary for the history and practical use of medicine and pharmacology. The book has definite interests for botanists, . . . and general readers who are interested in the history of mankind and medicine."

Other cultures than the Americans, apparently, are not so hung up on their own feelings of European superiority that they cannot see something of value in herbal remedies.

In Ottawa, recently, Dr. Wu Wei-jan, head of a medical delegation from China, said that traditional herbal medicines are used with beneficial effects in such conditions as coronary heart disease.

"The use of herbal drugs has a promising future," he said. He pointed out that modern medicines used around the world today are the pure form of the active ingredient from old herbal remedies. Digitalis, for instance, the most commonly used drug to strengthen the heart beat — is the active ingredient from the foxglove plant.

American Indians apparently did their studying of herbal remedies quite well — since 1492, white scientists have been unable to discover one new use of any herb which was not known to the native peoples. Consider just one, valerian, as an example.



VALERIAN: A HELPER

We encourage people interested in this herb to collect it — or cultivate it — themselves. For those for whom this is not possible, we can send a 3-ounce sample of valerian root, for \$1, postpaid. Write AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Valerian is a useful North American herb. There are several species, including one known as tobacco root, common from southern Canada south to the Rocky Mountain region of New Mexico.

It has a strong offensive odor, although the tea is pleasant. The smell is like dirty socks, but if the roots are gathered in the spring, they can be baked to remove the bitter taste. When treated this way, they are sweet and pleasant food.

Some, like the Blackfoot, made a hot tea of Valerian for stomach troubles. It is also said to help in the healing of wounds and broken bones. Fresh roots are pulverized between stones and applied directly, or dried roots are ground into an antiseptic powder. Fresh leaves can be chewed until they are moist, and then applied to cuts and wounds.

Valerian tea can also be added to bathwater to relieve nervous exhaustion, and in Russia, Valerian is added to steam-vaporizers to quiet children and encourage restful sleep.

As a food, Valerian is used even today by Paiutes, who grind roots into flour and use it in the form of bread. In northern England, the dried root is used in broths as a medicine preservative.

Valerian is used as a nerve tonic, prepared as a tea, and often combined with peppermint. Native people have used it to calm the nerves, for restlessness during fever, to help the hiccoughs, spasms, and epilepsy. However, if the tea is too strong, it can cause the reverse — excitement, illusions, giddiness and restlessness.

Cats are very fond of the odor of valerian, and tear the plants to pieces and roll in it — even rats and mice are attracted to it, and it can be used as trap-bait.

Valerian is found in many damp places, low-lying meadows and woods, about the banks of rivers and lakes, and in marshy swampy ground generally.

(AKWESASNE NOTES is interested in hearing from readers who have favorite books and manuals on herbal medicine and natural eating. Send us full information on titles, authors, publishers, and sources. We are also interested in hearing from readers who would be interested in selling or trading herbs from their area — we ourselves are interested in obtaining mountain laurel leaves, for instance, and rocky mountain sage.)

Other books on herbs available from NOTES are:

A Treasury of North American Herbs: Their Lore and their Use for Food, Drugs, and Medicine, by Virginia Scully. \$3.95 in paperback.

Earth Medicine / Earth Foods: Plant Remedies, Drugs, and Natural Foods of the North American Indians, by Michael Weiner. \$4.95, paperback.

THE REAL PURIFICATION MUST INVOLVE OUR BODIES, TOO — A MESSAGE FROM A HOTEVILLA BROTHER

Just take a stick, walk around among the weeds, and poke a hole in the ground. Drop in the corn kernels, pack them with sand, and go on. Then you need do nothing until harvest time. This gives much more time for doing other things.

We must purify ourselves, our bodies, our blood. To do this, we must return to the foods the Great Spirit provided for us. For North America, these are corn, beans, wild vegetables, squash, etc., but mainly corn — it is our mother. From it, all strength, peace, and wisdom comes.

All supermarket foods should be abandoned. Eat corn, beans, and things you grow yourself and wild vegetables nature provides. Restrict fruits grown commercially — they are unnatural. Occasional fish or game are all right.

The real purification must involve your bodies as well as your lives. Now is the time. Return to the arms of Mother Corn. She will heal you, guide you, and bless you with renewed strength, vigor, strong children, and wisdom to know "hidden things". This is as it was in the beginning. The two shall become one — you shall be one, spirit and body together, one with all life.

Life is so simple, really. There is so little we really need to be happy. A bowl of corn, a place to sleep, a few pieces of clothing.

The less we do and the more nature does, the better. In farming, this means cultivate as little as possible. Just plant your corn wherever there is space, and let it grow. Nature provides the spaces — we don't have to clear land. Just dig a hole, plant it, and harvest in the fall. The rest of the time is free for visiting friends and sculpture, art, pottery-making, weaving, singing, dancing, making love, rejoicing, grinding corn, making piki flat



The trouble with doing our own thing is we don't know how to do it.

bread. We don't need much else but corn, a few beans, herb tea, to be true "sons" of the Great Spiritual Oneness.

The real purification must involve our bodies as well as our lives. Now is the time. Return to the arms of Mother Corn. She will heal you, guide you, and

bless you with renewed strength, vigor, strong children, and wisdom to know "hidden things". This is as it was in the beginning. The two shall become one — you shall be one, spirit and body together, one with all life.

Now is the time of the Great Purification. Do not fear, but realize this is the purification of yourselves, your bodies. Cleanse and purify yourselves with your mother Corn. Corn will never betray you. Corn is the mother you should never abandon — by abandoning her, you have brought all kinds of trouble, sickness, unhappiness, struggle, violence, and confusion upon yourselves.

Education should be made available for those who want it, but the opportunity to live simply should also be available. The mother and father, in our daily lives, give us the education we need. Separate education fills our heads with worthless information.

For those who follow the Order of the Universe, the world is a happy, amazing and interesting place. Do not eat too much. This is a disorderly way, leading to difficulty, misfortune and unhappiness.

Lack of appetite control weakens us. We use our minds to invent labor-saving devices, and seek the best education so we can get paid a lot and can lead a leisurely life. The happiest life, however, is an active one, growing our own food, preparing it, doing simple things with our friends.

BOOK REVIEWS

(All books reviewed in NOTES are available from NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y.)

Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier by Wilbur R. Jacobs. Scribners, 1972. \$3.95 paperback.

This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian by Virgil J. Vogel. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. \$12.95 hardcover only.

Indian Treaties: 1778-1883. Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. New York: Interland Publishing, 1904/1972. \$67.50.

Our Indian Wards by George W. Manypenny. New York: Da Capo Press. \$12.50 hardcover only.

My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians by Oliver O. Howard. New York: Da Capo Press \$15.



The war on Southeast Asia and the ecology crisis recall our country's formative experience destroying native Americans, or "children of nature" as they used to be called. History written from present concerns can distort the past, but it can also, as Wilbur Jacobs and Virgil Vogel show, help make the past accessible.

Jacob's essays draw mainly on northern, colonial frontier experience. His best reflect a deep understanding of the ecological, ethnohistorical character of the white-Indian struggle, and are powerful indeed. Jacob's *Dispossessing the American Indian* is written from the perspective of nature, Vogel's *This Country Was Ours* from that of radical politics. Vogel's source material and commentary, marred only by a weak, final catch-all section, provide one of the best available introductions to the entire sweep of white-Indian history.

The two books share a common theme, American history is a history of expansion, and it cannot be understood apart from Indian relations. Jacobs (professor of history at the University of California at Santa Barbara) suggests that the colonial economy depended on the Indian fur trade. White demands for furs virtually exterminated the beaver, pushed the Iroquois west, and produced a series of bloody forest wars. White exploitation destroyed an ecological balance that Indian agriculture and hunting had preserved for centuries. Expansionist pressures forced tribes into wars to defend their homelands, wars more often than not initiated by land speculators, intruders on Indian land, or colonial governments. Colonial governors offered bounties for Indian scalps. (Women's and children's were worth less than men's.)

Colonists desiring total elimination of Indians from lands they coveted, and identifying Indians with a hostile natural environment, fought total wars, destroying noncombatants' food supplies, and natural habitats, Vogel (associate professor of history at Mayfair College, Chicago) and George Manypenny in his republished (1880) *Our Indian Wards* quote vivid contemporary accounts of the extermination of the Pequot tribe by the early New England settlers. The Puritans burned a fortified Pequot village, butchered fleeing women and children, sold the tribal remnant into slavery, and praised the Lord for delivering Indian land into their inheritance.

Resentment over British efforts to regulate the fur trade, and to restrict settlement and land speculation west of the Appalachians, contributed significantly, Vogel and Jacobs suggest to the American Revolution. The British hoped to avoid costly Indian wars, but land was the most valuable resource in the colonies, and land speculation provided a principal source of wealth. American-born speculators like George Washington resented British restrictions.

"Between ourselves," Washington explained in a letter Vogel reprints, British restrictions should be viewed as "a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians." Urging his friend to enter land claims for him, Washington continued, "Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands . . . will never regain it."

As Revolutionary general, Washington ordered Iroquois villages burned and food supplies destroyed; as President he presided over a "just war" to open the north-west territory to settlement. But he favored a more orderly process of expansion.

Condemning speculators and deploring war, he now preferred treaties. On extraordinary grounds — Vogel reprints the letter — he urged "the propriety of purchasing their lands, in preference to attempting to drive them by force of arms out of their Country; which as we have already experienced, is like driving the wild Beasts of ye forest, which will return as soon as the pursuit is at an end, and fall perhaps upon those that are left there; when the gradual extension of our settlements will as certainly cause the savage, as the wolf, to retire; both being beasts of prey tho' they differ in shape."

Indians were animals, but fortunately, they were men as well. As men, they could make contracts, accept money, and consent to the loss of their land. Hence the remarkable American insistence on treaties. True, whites violated treaties when it suited their needs, if a tribe was particularly recalcitrant. But to search the massive collection of Indian treaties — as compiled in *Indian Treaties 1778-1883* by Charles Kappler in 1903 and reprinted now — for evidence of broken promises overlooks the genius of American Indian policy. Whites much preferred bribery, coerced treaties, or agreements with unrepresentative bands to no treaties at all. They demanded, like the Stalinist purge trial prosecutors, that the victims acquiesce in their own destruction. Whites, then, were not to blame. Even after treaty-making was formally ended, in 1871, the Government continued to make "agreements" with the tribes.

Expansion across the continent to Indian lands was the central fact of American life from Jefferson's Presidency through the Mexican War. Jefferson continued Washington's policy of expansion with the victims' consent. He purchased Louisiana and hoped to remove the eastern Indians to the northern portion of the territory. Opposing forced removal, he urged an increase in trading posts in Indian country. The tribes would incur debts, "lop off" their excess lands to pay them, and eventually move west.

Andrew Jackson speeded up this process. Historians, as Vogel points out, have written the history of the Age of Jackson as if Indians did not exist. In fact, the destruction of the Indians was always Jackson's major aim. Like Washington, he early speculated in Indian lands, and made his first national reputation in Indian wars. He burned and destroyed Indian villages, and used the pretext of Indian violence to justify expansion into Canada, Florida, and Texas. As general, treaty-maker, and President, Jackson was the single man most responsible for the dispossession of the eastern Indians. Like Washington, President Jackson condemned land speculators and assumed a stance of paternal benevolence toward the tribes. This paternalism, combined with coerced and fraudulent treaties, brought about the forced population transfer of 100,000 Indians to Jefferson's northern Louisiana Territory. Vogel describes Indian removal with devastating accuracy; one-quarter to one-third of the natives died in the process.

Like other policy-makers, Jackson expressed paternal benevolence toward his "red children" only after he had established power over them. Tribal cultures, as Jacobs shows, derived from specific communal relations to historic tribal territory.

Refusing to cede tribal land, Nez Perce Chief Joseph, quoted by Manypenny, explained, "The earth was his mother. He was made of the earth, and grew up upon its bosom. The earth, as his mother and nurse, was sacred to his affections, too sacred to be valued by, or sold for silver or gold."



Envy of this attachment to the land, whites enforced their own rootless wandering upon the Indians. In the name of paternalism, they destroyed the connection to "mother earth" and decimated "red children."

Even well-meaning paternalism must not be confused with genuine respect for Indian culture. George Washington Manypenny, for example, opposed a forced military solution to the Indian problem, and powerfully documented post-Civil War army atrocities against the Western tribes. But Manypenny favored a policy of forced assimilation; optimism that Indians could be "domesticated and civilized" was his only alternative to extermination.

Moreover, as pre Civil War Indian Commissioner, Manypenny had helped destroy the Indian Territory guaranteed in Jackson's removal program. Indian Territory, as Vogel shows, stood in the way of westward expansion.

Stephen Douglas promoting a trans-continental rail road, hoped that westward expansion would submerge growing North-South tension. Indian Commissioner Manypenny condemned the Indians' "white brethren, who, while they have quarreled about the African, have united upon the soil of Kansas in wrongdoing toward the Indian!" But Manypenny himself praising the Indians' "patient submission," negotiated the treaties by which the harassed tribes ceded 90 per cent of their original holdings.

Jacksonian Democracy had promoted westward expansion to unite North and South; sacrifice of Indians diminished the danger of slavery. But by the 1850s, westward expansion exacerbated rather than buried the growing differences between North and South; Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska policy brought on the Civil War.

The Civil War ended the Indians' central role in American development. But the Indians themselves, as Manypenny and Vogel document hardly benefitted from this change. The Civil War decimated tribes. Seeking gold in the Southwest to finance the Union cause, Gen. James H. Carleton invited prospectors onto Indian territory, and ordered his soldiers to "kill every Indian man they can find."

The search-and-destroy missions initiated during the Civil War defined Indian policy for the next generation. Civil War experience, applied by Generals Sherman and Sheridan, brutalized Indian relations. Sherman wrote Grant in 1866, "We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination — men, women, and children. Nothing less will reach the root of this case."

Spurred by army hostility and Western mining and ranching interests, officers like Custer massacred friendly Indian villages, killed women and children, and destroyed winter food supplies. Fraud and neglect at Indian agencies provided late and meager provisions to starving Indians. Indians who had once been nursed by mother nature were now offered, as Manypenny describes one scene, a contaminated soup of diseased entrails.

President Grant's "peace policy" sought to drive Indians onto reservations, exterminating all who resisted. Plains Indian wars provided high drama for future generations but participating whites experienced them in a curiously dissociated manner. Victims of the struggle for existence in a mechanized Darwinian jungle, Indians were seen as things, dirt, obstacles in the white path. Gen. Oliver Howard's memoirs of this period, *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians* do not go to the Sherman-Sheridan extreme. Still, while Howard condemns white rapacity in the abstract, he defends such concrete examples as the Wounded Knee massacre. Moreover, he turns matters of life and death into quaint travelogues. His account of his 1200-mile pursuit of Chief Joseph, for example, is largely a description of mountain scenery.

Grant's peace policy did not obliterate the Indians; Manypenny, exposing its barbarities, offered another alternative that took another step in that direction. He urged that reservations be abolished, and that Indians be forced to accept individual plots of land. The Dawes Act of 1887 — praised by President Theodore Roosevelt as "a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass" — initiated the policy of individual allotments. The results, as could have been foretold from similar Jacksonian experiments were disastrous for the Indians. Forced to relinquish millions of acres, to farm arid lands that could not support them, and to subject themselves to market pressures and white fraud that expropriated their remaining holdings, the tribes lost 60% of their land between 1887 and 1934. The Bureau of Indian Affairs attacked not merely communal land ownership, but every manifestation of tribal culture. Indian children, forcibly brought to boarding schools far from their parents' contaminating influence, lived in regimented barracks and were whipped for speaking their native language. What Jacobs describes as the more or less accidental consequence of 18th century white expansion had become systematic government policy a century and a half later. Boarding schools and land allotments would, the Interior Secretary promised in 1901, "settle the Indian question within the space generally allotted to a generation."

(Thanks to Michael Rogin, associate professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley, who is completing a book on Andrew Jackson and the destruction of the American Indians. His review was printed in the December 24, 1972, issue of the N.Y. Times Book Review, to whom we are also grateful.)



PAGE 41

Resources

Pamphlets

THE FIRST AMERICANS: a special issue of the *American Red Cross Youth News*. 32 p. A good publication for junior high school class use. 25 cents each.

HOW DEMOCRACY CAME TO ST. REGIS: a pamphlet by Rarihokwats. 12 p. A history of how elective government replaced natural democracy. Sent out with: **THE NATIONS OF THE IROQUOIS**, a four page reprint of how elective government came to the Six Nations Reservation in the 1920s. 30 cents for the pair.

THREE BY OHIYESA

(Charles Alexander Eastman, or Ohiyesa, was a Santee Sioux who was raised in the old ways, and then became educated in European ways. These three books of Dakota life were written about 1900-1915, covering an era 50 years earlier.)

INDIAN BOYHOOD. Ohiyesa's first 15 years, recounting religious practice, medicine work, and training for the hunt. 289 pages, paperback, \$2.00.

THE SOUL OF THE INDIAN. The Dakota religious beliefs and way of life. 169 pages, paperback, \$3.50.

OLD INDIAN DAYS. A fictionalized account of daily life. 275 pages, paperback, \$3.50.

3 BOOKS ON THE ANISHNAWBE

INDIAN LIFE IN THE UPPER GREAT LAKES: 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1860, by George Quimby. Ancient North American history, well-illustrated archeology. \$2.45 paperback 180 pages.

SACRED LEGENDS OF THE SANDY LAKE CREE, recorded by James Stevens, illustrated by Carl Ray. Tribal memories made vivid. \$6.95 hardcover only. 144 pages.

THE PRAIRIE POTAWATOMI: Tradition and Ritual in the Twentieth Century, by Ruth Landes. Done in the 1930s, focusing on contemporary issues. Hardcover only, 400 pages, \$12.50.

THREE BOOKS ON CALIFORNIA

THE POMO INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA & THEIR NEIGHBORS by Vinson Brown and Douglas Andrews, with full-color map and 70 illustrations. The material and social culture and history. 64 pages, paperback \$2.50.

NATIVE AMERICANS OF CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA: A Handbook by Jack D. Forbes. A realistic account of white-Indian relations and history. 197 pages, paperback, \$3.95.

ALMOST ANCESTORS: The First Californians. By Theodora Kroeber and Robt. Heizer. A large format book of beautiful photographs, quotations, and a supportive text. 167 pages, paperback, \$3.95.

AND TWO TALES FROM THE NORTH

STORY OF COMOCK THE ESKIMO as told to Robert Flaherty and edited by Edmund Carpenter. A story of human fortitude with sensitive sketches by Inuit artists. Spell binding for children. 95 cents, paper 128pp

HARPOON OF THE HUNTER by Markoosie. A first Inuit novel of the struggle for manhood and survival. 81 pages, \$4.95 hardcover. Good for younger readers, too.

FOUR NOVELS OF THE PEOPLE

JOURNEY FOR JOEDEL by Guy Owen. The sensitive easy-reading growth of a North Carolina youth. 190 pp., paperback, 95 cents.

THE LIGHT IN THE FOREST by Conrad Richter. Story of a white boy raised by Indians and torn in his loyalties. 117 pages, paper. 75 cents.

THE ORDEAL OF RUNNING STANDING by Thomas Fall. A powerful novel of a new Indian in a hostile America. 300 pages, paper, 95 cents.

PEOPLE OF THE DREAM, by James Forman, based on the tragic last days of Nez Perce freedom. 215 pages, hardcover only, \$4.95.

THE NATURAL HISTORY LIBRARY

INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES by Clark Wissler. Not exactly the native viewpoint, but a useful survey of the Peoples. 380 pages, paperback, \$2.50.

INDIANS OF THE PLAINS by Robert Lowie. Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Dakota Crow, Kiowa. 258 pages, paperback, \$2.50.

THE NAVAHO by Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton. History, current situation and religious beliefs and social structure. 355 pages, paperback, \$2.50.

INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST by Philip Drucker. Marriage customs, economy, rituals, art, war, religion. 70 drawings & photos. 224 pp., paperback, \$2.50.

THE WOODLAND INDIANS of the Western Great Lakes by Robert & Pat Rizenthaler. 175 pages, with photographs. paper, \$1.95.

THE NETSILIK ESKIMO by Asen Balikci. A study of the people of the Seal. 255 pages, paperback, \$3.95.

DESIGNS FROM PRE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO by Jorge Enciso. 300 illustrations of unique designs found on malacates. 102 pages, paperback. \$1.50.

WHEN CLAY SINGS by Byrd Baylor and illustrated by Tom Bahti. An award-winning book for children, adults, and artists. A slim attractive hardcover book that captures the meaning of art in life. \$4.95.

TSIMSHIAN INDIANS AND THEIR ARTS by Viola Garfield and Paul Wingert. A study of a creative culture and the role of art in life. Paperback, 91 pages, \$2.95. Illustrated.

INDIAN LEGENDS LIVE IN PUPPETRY: A Creative Manual by Vera Leeper. How to portray the old stories to encourage creative spirits. 160 pages, paperback. \$2.50. A nice book for teachers — and others.

PICTURE WRITING OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS by Garrick Mallory. A reprint of an 1889 Bureau of American Ethnology report with many illustrations. In two vols., each about 450 pages, \$5.00 each, paper.

LORD OF THE DAWN: QUETZALCOATL by Tony Shearer. A song of the great harmonies as seen by one pilgrim on the Great Quest. \$3.95. 200 pp. paperback.

MACHINE AGE MAYA: The Industrialization of a Guatemalan Community, by Manning Nash. Primarily an anthropological study of a mountain community with a large textile mill in its midst. \$1.95 paper.

AZTECAS DEL NORTE: The Chicānos of Aztlán, by Jack D. Forbes. A landmark study. 95cents, paperback. 336 pages.

SONS OF THE SHAKING EARTH: The People of Mexico and Guatemala, Their Land, History, and Culture, by Eric Wolf. \$1.95 paperback. 295 pages.



People of the Longhouse

THE WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE by Paul Wallace. \$5.00 hardcover only. 57 pages. How the Iroquois Confederacy was founded: American history at its best.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA by Anthony F.C. Wallace. About the renaissance of a people, through spiritual strength. 400 pages, paperback, \$2.45

THE SECRET OF NO FACE by Chief Everett Parker & Oledoska. \$3.95, paper, 174 p. A sincere effort to communicate a Seneca legend, or 'telling'. Great for out-loud reading to kids and adults. Entertaining wisdom.

APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS by Edmund Wilson. \$1.95 paper 300 p. A white writer's impression of Longhouse people of his contacts in the 1950s showing the roots of current thought, and activism.

THE IROQUOIS by Frank Speck. 95 p. with many photos. \$1.00, paper. A nice brief study of Iroquois crafts, designs, ceremonial items, and culture.

THE IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elisabeth Tooker. \$7.50, hardcover only, 190 pages. An anthropologist approaches an important ceremony like a cook baking a cake — yet this book will be useful to those trying to find meaning and life in the most important of ceremonies.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymont. \$11.50, hardcover only. 340 p. An important scholarly work, although heavy on the white perspective. Important to an understanding of the war of 1776 and why Iroquois aren't celebrating the bicentennial.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS by Cadwallader Colden. \$1.95 paper 180 p. Written in 1727 and 1747, it contains many observations of the nature of the life of People of the Longhouse before the influence of Western culture.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS edited by William Fenton. \$8.95 400+ p. hardcover. Contains three monographs written by Arthur Parker in the early 1900s. Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants contains many recipes for natural foods. The Code of Handsome Lake is presented in English, and The Constitution of the Five Nations is also translated.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan \$3.95 paperback 477 pages. The father of anthropology gives his understanding of the Iroquois. Written 1851.

THE GREAT TREE AND THE LONGHOUSE by Hazel W. Hertzberg. \$2.50 paperback 117 p. One of a series for use in schools — nicely done, although past-oriented and from an anthropological perspective.

GENERAL BOOKS

A HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES by Angie Debo. \$8.95, hardcover only. A one-volume historical survey down to the present time.

AMERICAN INDIAN MEDICINE by Virgil J. Vogel. \$12.50, hardcover. Indian medicinal practices and their effect on white civilization. Theories of disease, methods of combatting disease. Lists Indian contributions to pharmacology. Highly recommended.

A CENTURY OF DISHONOR: The Early Crusade for Indian Reform by Helen Hunt Jackson. An 1881 documentation of wrongs that led to reforms that were wrong too. See how little has changed in 1973. 340 pages, paperback, \$3.75.

Belly-Laugh

SHOVE IT BUSTER: We'd Rather Have Our Land. A Candid Look at Modern Indian History in the Making by the American Indian Press Association. Photos & hilarious captions. Paperback, \$1.50.

EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO ASK ABOUT INDIANS But Were Afraid to Find Out! by Don Bibeau, Carl Gawboy, and Naomi Lyons. Cartoons of contemporary native life, that only Indians could get away with drawing. \$1.25.

The Blue Cloud Quarterly

A Benedictine abbey in South Dakota puts out some of the nicest pamphlets, suitable for pleasant reading at home or in schools. Each is beautifully designed, about 12 pages in length. 25 cents each. **A STORY FROM CHARLIE** as told to Sister Susan. In calligraphy, from Turtle Mountain.

THE CREATOR HAS MADE THE WORLD — COME AND SEE IT. A collection of short essays & prayers.

BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE — songs and photos of the Indian situation.

OUR MUSIC

WILLIE DUNN (stereo) produced by White Roots of Peace, with words, music, and songs by Willie Dunn, a Micmac/Métis folksinger, with a Grass Dance Song & Chief's Song by Jerry Saddleback. Lyrics printed on double album cover. Includes Ballad of Crowfoot from the film of the same name, and nine other songs. \$5.00

KIOWA CHURCH SONGS: songs composed and sung in Kiowa for Christian worship. \$5.

DITCH-CLEANING & PICNIC SONGS OF PICURIS PUEBLO sung by Ramos Duran. \$5.

NAVAJO SKIP DANCE & TWO-STEP SONGS for socials, by Boniface Bonnie and others. \$5.

SOCIAL SONGS OF THE ARAPAHO SUN DANCE by Wind River Singers. \$5.

SONGS OF THE MUSKOGEE CREEK, in two albums, each \$5.

(A variety of other albums are also available, and many albums are available on 8-track cartridge and cassette for \$5.50. Please give a substitution in the event the first choice of albums is not available on 8-track or cassette.)

LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION TO HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES by Franz Boas, and **INDIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILIES OF AMERICA NORTH OF MEXICO** by J.W. Powell. 220 p., paperback, \$1.85. Two classic works dealing with the nature of native American languages. The Boas essay is a clear exposition on the fundamental aspects of language itself.

CHOCTAW DEFINER: by Ben Watkins. English, with Choctaw definition. 85 p., paperback. \$1.90 A reprint of an 1892 book.

EVERYDAY LAKOTA: An English-Sioux Dictionary for Beginners, edited by Joseph Karol. 122 pages, paper, \$3.35.

BUFFALO HEARTS by Sun Bear. A pot-pouri of biography, history & culture. 128 pages, paperback. \$3.00.

ON THE GLEAMING WAY by John Collier. The People of the Southwestern area and their land, and their meaning to the world. \$2.25 paperback 162 pp.

I HAVE SPOKEN: American History Through the Voices of the Indians compiled by Virginia Irving Armstrong. A collection of native oratory from 17th to 20th century. \$2.95 paperback 200 pages.

THE INDIANS' BOOK: Songs and Legends of the American Indians, recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis. A reprint of a 1923 edition. 584 pages, paperback. 149 songs with musical notation. \$4.50.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

AMERICAN INDIAN & ESKIMO AUTHORS: a listing of over 300 books. \$4.00.

SELECTED CHILDREN'S BOOKS by American Indians and Eskimos. \$1.00.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICAN FOLKLORE AND FOLKSONG: The American Indians North of Mexico, including the Eskimos. \$13.00, hardcover, with key. By Charles Haywood. About 500 pages, with a 133-page index of sources of records, stories, songs, and data. Important for libraries, researchers, writers.

BIOGRAPHIES

TENDON, CHIEF OF THE LEMHIS — 139 p., paper, \$2.75, by David Crowder. Biography of a chief of Idaho noted both for his fighting prowess and peaceful relations.

LAME DEER, SEEKER OF VISIONS: The Life of a Sioux Medicine Man, by John (Fire) Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes. A modern-day Lakota tells of his life and efforts to live his beliefs. 288 pages, paperback \$2.95.

SAGA OF CHIEF JOSEPH by Helen Howard. \$6.95 hardcover only. The definitive biography of a noted leader.

BLACK HAWK by Jackson. \$1.75. His own story of his people's fight to plant corn, on their own land.

THE TALL CANDLE: The Personal Chronicle of a Yaqui Indian. hardcover only \$7.50., 251 p. by Rosalio Moisés.

MOUNTAIN WOLF WOMAN by Nancy Lurie. \$1.95 paperback. A CONTEMPORARY Winnebago lady tells of her life.

I, NUGLIAK by Metayer. \$5.95 hardcover. An Inuit man speaks of his life and times.

WHEN THE TREE FLOWERED: The Fictionalized Autobiography of Eagle BV

WHEN THE TREE FLOWERED: The Fictionalized Autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux Indian, by John Neihardt. \$1.65, paperback. By the chronicler of Black Elk Speaks.

PLENTY COUPS by Linderman. \$1.80. Written in 1930 by a Crow chief.

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO: RECOLLECTIONS OF A WARM SPRINGS APACHE by James Kaywaykla and Eva Ball. \$4.95 paperback. The story of a brave people who sought to survive as seen through the eyes of a participant.

I WILL FIGHT NO MORE FOREVER by Beal. \$1.65 paperback. The story of Chief Joseph and his people.

JIM WHITEWOLF: THE LIFE OF A KIOWA APACHE. \$1.75 paperback. Told in 1950 by a man born in the second half of the 19th century, according to his own values.

HEROES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Sol Stember. Hardcover only, \$5.00 Good reading for adults and jr. high students. A dozen short biographies of noted chiefs and leaders.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WINNEBAGO INDIAN, recorded by Paul Radin. Life, ways, acculturation, and peyote recorded in 1920. A classic work of a remarkable life. 91 pages, paperback. \$1.25.

General

ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND by Indians of All Tribes, edited by Peter Blue Cloud. Many photos, accounts, poems, paintings, of the historic occupation. Proceeds to the Richard Oakes family 108 pp., large format, paperback \$3.95. Highly recommended.

A PACKET OF NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

This packet contains recent issues of ten native newspapers all over North America. It makes an easy sampling available for libraries — maybe some you'll want to receive regularly. The packet is just \$2 postpaid.

BOOKS IN QUANTITY?

Quantities of all titles sold by NOTES are available at discounts of 20% for books by other publishers, and 40% for books published by AKWESASNE NOTES. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use one or more titles.

Also, an **INDIAN BOOKSHELF** of a variety of titles for resale in bookstores, healthfood outlets, trading posts, or special events is available. A sampler of \$125-worth of books at retail prices is available for \$100, with the privilege of return of unsold copies.

One list of books appeared in the last issue of NOTES, and then there is the listing on these resources pages. Still, even more books are available and will be listed in future editions. A catalog listing books reported in these last two issues is available upon request.

PAGE 43

NOTES: We have started an Indian Way Youth Camp on Tonawanda Seneca Reserve, and are requesting that you would notify Native People of our camp and needs. We need funds, tents, blankets, beads, needles, etc., etc., so as to continue on in teaching the younger children our Indian Ways.

Our camp is giving sweat lodges, talks and stories, the language is taught along with beadwork, games, Iroquois songs, etc.

Our children must know of their own ways so they are not forgotten. Our people's duty on Mother Earth is to prepare for the future generations to come. We are also asking people who wish to teach our children to contact us at this address. Join us in our efforts.

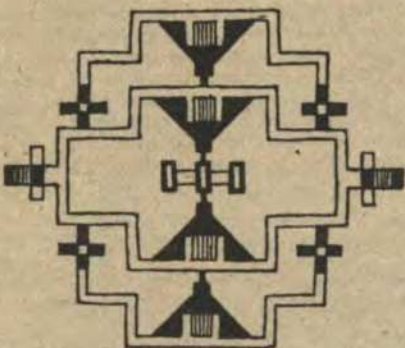
Chief Beeman Logan
Tonawanda Reserve
267 Council House Road
Basom, New York 14013
telephone (716) 542-5393

NOTES: The newly-formed American Indian Culture Group is functioning within the confines of the Kansas State Penitentiary. We are a poor group. What financial support we do have comes from the surrounding Indian community.

There are four books you list in your resources which we would like to build a library around. We would greatly appreciate what help you can give and we would feel deeply indebted to you.

Jim Puckee, Secretary
American Indian Culture Group
PO Box 2
Lansing, Kansas 66043

(The books were sent, thanks to help from readers who earmark a contribution for this purpose with their book orders. Readers with extra books may want to donate them to this new library. Eds.)



NOTES: You have Jesus. I don't understand what you're complaining about.

Unsigned
New York City

NOTES: For fifteen years, I have studied the life and lore of Indians of the Americas and to a large extent it has formulated my ideas and concepts about life including the life about us.

In October, I am coming to America to stay for at least one year. I have spoken to a number of Americans over here, and they all agree that the best place for me to live and work is in North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, and even Arizona. This is because it is most like England. [Someone must have been kidding! The typist.]

I ask any reader to write to me and tell me about the states I wish to live in. Is there any place I may stop by for a night's rest?

John E. Myles
16 Westbrook Bank
Sheffield 11
Yorkshire, England

FRIENDS: We are members of the Free German Youth in the German Democratic Republic. We hope that your struggle will be crowned with success in the near future, because all oppressed people are uniting their efforts more and more.

We send this letter to encourage you and to say we will do our utmost to help you.

Petra Grolle, Susanne Kruger,
and fifty-one other signatures
Merseburg, Germany



NOTES: A nation's most important resource is its children. What has happened to our children? They are being used to fulfill the demands of the white society — and at the expense of our own.

In an attempt to reverse this trend, a program of "child reclamation" is being initiated at Grand River Territory. The hope is that our children will remain ours, and not become involved with the destruction of the earth. We hope those children who pass through this "child reclamation center" will come to know who and what they are, that they will come to know the true history of their people, will come to be self-reliant and know how to be self-supporting on the land.

The children who will be involved will probably be the unwanted, or "non-adoptables." Anyone interested in helping to break the present cycle, contact us. There is need for building materials, furniture, animals, implements, etc., and money.

Alex & May Jamieson
Six Nations Grand River Territory
via Route 6
Hagersville, Ontario

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



NOTES: Young sons and daughters of the Bulgarian people which always loved right and freedom are greeting the courage of the Indian people.

B. Taralee, A. Yzyhoba, and
26 other signatures
Bulgaria, Plovdiv

NOTES: We from "Det Fri Gymnasium" admire your struggle for the most fundamental human rights.

Please don't take this as a statement of solidarity just in this very matter [Wounded Knee] but as a spiritual support of your fight against the Monster. With love.

Det Fri Gymnasium
Copenhagen, Denmark

FRIENDS: I have some recollections on the pinon-juniper devastation system which may be useful to someone (see last issue).

In Tijerrina Country, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, the Indo-Hispanic people have the same close ties to the pinon and juniper, which also provide the most excellent free source of fuel in the mountains. Juniper burns hot and fast, and lifts the sub-zero freeze out of a room with a loud crackling noise.

Pinon burns all night. And hot. You don't soot up your chimneys and wood ranges. This is a free form of fuel, with equipment cheap and easy to install. It is one way the People are not penalized for being isolated or poor. They're not always in fear of a fuel shortage like the bulk of this hysterical continent. And as the article said, the timber is best for home building, as it never rots out, and the pinon nuts make food for the winter — not some novelty in a health food diet, or token ethnic holdover, but a staple that enables people to stay in their ancestral homes without malnutrition.

In late fall, after all the drunk Texans roll home with their \$10-thousand camper-trailer-boat-jeep-in-tow caravans, the people give the terrorized deer a few weeks' rest, then hunt some meat if they can. As in Nevada, the Carson National Forest and the Forest above Taos chains thousands of acres of pinon-juniper land because it isn't "commercial". That is, you can take away the peoples' building materials, fuel, and a major food source, because nobody is making a buck on it.

The chained land is an interesting sight — like a bombed out, eroded mud and dust pile mixed with dead snags. Then, at least in theory, it is reeded for range or reforested with ponderosa pine maybe.

Unlike the smaller pinon and juniper, ponderosa takes heavy equipment to log and mill. The people won't find their timber and food anymore, though it is a sootier, cooler-burning, shorter-lasting fuel substitute, if you don't lose a leg or back felling them. And you need way more of it. If range is set up, rights are given to the wealthy, or taken as collateral from the poor in bad years, so it finds its way to one kind of pocket. Also, you can't pasture horses in the "public" forest, so if you have a small piece of land, you can't afford a tractor, and can't spare enough horse pasture from your own crop land, so you can't plow it. A rich neighbor will plow for half the crop. People accept this system like losing at poker, and hope they will somehow get to be the guy with the tractor. (Not all of the large holders are mean or exploitive).

For people being ripped off, the people in Rio Arriba County are a good bunch, and don't do much ripping off themselves.

D. Hoffman
Rochester, New York

NOTES: I'd like to indicate a good source for relevant reading material for inmates. It is **OUTMATE**, PO Box 174, Storrs, Connecticut. They supply any inmate with a copy of their monthly selection list, and then send him at least two books of his choice, free of charge.

Also, legal literature is available from Harry H. Woodward, World Correctional Service Center, 2849 W. 71st St., Chicago, Illinois 60629, and from the National Prison Project, 1424 16th St NW 1404, Washington, D.C.

Rudolph Poppy Thomas F-2415
Box 244
Graterford, Pennsylvania 19426



NOTES: Sam Martinez, a Mexican brother, has passed away. He was an inmate of the Wisconsin State Reformatory, and died of cancer on the night of April 24, 1973.

I feel it is somewhat futile to bother giving you the history of Martinez' death — or should we call it a legal murder by the prison officials of the state of Wisconsin — because there is so much apathy in this cruel world! People seem to be so damned ignorant that they are like cows chewing the cud while the monster courts death around them. But I will tell you the history of Martinez' death, because I cannot let this crime go untold.

Two years ago, Martinez was sentenced to this reformatory — he was only nineteen or twenty years old at the time. While participating in sports, he scratched his leg. He complained to the prison nurses that the scratch was not healing and that it had become painful. The nurses gave him aspirin! The aspirin treatment continued for almost one year — Sam never received a check-up during that time. Later, it was discovered that Martinez had cancer in his right leg.

He received treatment on the leg. He was lied to and told that the treatments had cured him, and thus Martinez was sent back to the prison where he received no treatment.

On several occasions, Martinez fell to the floor in various parts of the reformatory. He would be picked up and taken to the prison hospital and released shortly thereafter — within one or two days. Still, he would not receive any real treatment for his cancer. The doctors and nurses continued to tell him that he did not have cancer — they had cured it.

About April 20, 1973, I was told that Sam Martinez had been taken to an outside hospital in the city of Green Bay, that he had been operated on, and that he was doing fine. On April 25, we, the inmates of the Wisconsin State Reformatory, learned that our young brother had passed away. Sam Martinez is dead.

I am wondering if the good citizens of the free world can understand me when I say that Sam's death was murder? Can they understand why I cannot let this crime go untold?

Viva la revolucion!

Ernest R. Rodriguez 33406
Box W-R
Green Bay, Wisconsin 54305

NOTES: Thank you very much from the Native American Brotherhood Club here at the Arizona State Prison for your papers. We want to keep on receiving them — our membership is 35. Keep up the good work.

Please print this: all state and federal prisoners to be released can apply for general assistance or direct employment or any trade school under the BIA, as that agency gets a special budget for this, and can get paperwork done in one day upon release if you have no way of getting the paperwork done in prison.

Bruce Washington &
Joseph Smith
Native American Brotherhood Club
Box B 31050
Florence, Arizona

NOTES: May I suggest that in a future edition that you write an article on Indian education? An article which should include treatment of Indian students, the quality of educators who are teaching our Indians, misuse of Johnson-O'Malley funds, and the seemingly uncaring attitude of the administrators of the school systems which educate Indian children.

Mrs. Roy J. Ross
Pagate, New Mexico

(We invite submission of articles on this subject. The editors.)

NOTES: I guess you could say I'm a typical American guy. As a kid I went to the average schools and learned all about how my forefathers came and settled and fought the Indians to make this country the civilized place it is now.

Well, I found that the U.S. is not really civilized. Yet I see many of the young brothers and sisters of the tribes are forgetting their ways. They no longer wish to listen and learn for they think that the white world is better. Well, this is one white that does not think so. I have seen too much of the ways my fathers have so screwed up what must have been the most beautiful land in the world.

I wish to find an elder in the Cheyenne or any tribe who would be able to teach this heart the paths of the old ones, so that I can in turn be able to teach by living. This is not a crank letter. I am very serious. Anything you can do to help will be appreciated.

Gregory V. Fallin
46 Sandrock Road
Buffalo, New York 14207

BROTHERS: The term "white man" is used very indiscriminately as an abusive term. I wish I could write well enough to somehow get across how deeply hurt I am to think that I am being thought of in the same way as the monsters that have plagued your people for so long. Surely there must be a term that could be used to differentiate between people who see greed as their high priest and people, no matter what their color, and those who want to see all men living in peace with each other and in harmony with nature.

Just as an apple is red on the outside and white on the inside, isn't there a term for people like myself who are white on the outside but red on the inside?

Mike Bard
Parksville, New York

(Usually we call people who are white on the outside but red on the inside "friend". It is true that some native people have become bigoted and regard race as a criteria for judging people. But the term "white man" is usually a collective term. Rather than to disassociate yourself from your people, why not work to reform and change white society back into part of this Creation. If all "good" white people cop out of responsibility for their fellows and their ancestors, the burden of protection and defense falls upon the victims, such as the native people. But perhaps other readers have comments to make on this matter. The editors.)



NOTES: Recently your newspaper was recommended to this office as the best Native American newspaper in the country. Here in Race Relations Training, we have a portion of our program devoted to the American Indian.

Ellsworth E. Wiggins, Capt, U.S. Air Force
Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

FRIENDS: Why do some people complain against the weather? The weather and Nature are one. By insulting one of them, you are insulting the other. Anyone that shows disrespect to Mother Earth is only making their journey to the Great Mystery much longer and more painful than it has to be.

It doesn't matter what Mother Earth does for some people — they will not respect her. They are so much in love with their material possessions that they forget She exists. But suddenly if an earthquake strikes, they're down on their knees praying for mercy. And should Mother Earth show them mercy? Are they merciful to Her?

If people think the weather is bad now, wait until the Great Prophecy comes to pass! Then the world will truly know the power of the destructive forces of Nature. Maybe then more people will realize that when a Holy Man gives a warning, it is not to be ignored.

Lexi Mount
Los Angeles, California

NOTES: The Todd County Tribune and the Mellette County News each with an Eyapaha section (Rosebud Sioux Herald) are two legal newspapers for two counties grossing \$54,799 in 1972. Subscriptions number 1850. The papers are for sale with an asking price of \$50,000, including building price would be \$66,000, and with two-bedroom house, \$75,000. Present owner wants to return to her original occupation in education.

The Rosebud People depend on these two publications and we are hoping to find someone to continue them.

Ervin Figert
Mission, South Dakota 57555
telephone (605) 856-4469

FRIENDS: We are young people, living in the German Democratic Republic, loving peace, brotherhood, humanity and our country, its woods, meadows, rivers, villages, towns. We are informed about your problems as Indian people enough to understand your fighting for your identity as a nation, for your own Indian way of life, for the Indian education of your children, against the pollution of your beautiful country, for your landrights and cultural autonomy.

We hope and wish you may be successful. We are feeling in solidarity with you, with the people of Wounded Knee who have given a world-wide signal, with all Indian people defending their existence as Indian people. We like to listen when you speak. We know that thousands of young people here are feeling this way.

We are with you when you go your difficult way.

Herbert Brauer, Evelyn Rupp,
and 34 other signatures
Rostock, Germany

NOTES: I love your paper. It is, I am sure, much needed and the anger and pride that it manifests is a regenerative force with great justification, and many desperate needs to nourish.

But I do wish that you would include in your paper much more of the shaman's viewpoint: nature worship/harmony, herblore, circles of the Mother Goddess and Sky-father God. The awareness of what the Indian truly believes in religiously is a factor even more hidden and misunderstood than even his (or her) every-day mundane human rights to food, housing, and political/legal rights.

What I really wish to say is that not all white people are Christians, Protestant, or Jewish, nor are we/they all materialistic and gung-ho on hospital/M.D./Chemical/Machine-type medicine.

Many white people have kept up an ancient ("prehistoric") belief in the Earth Mother, Moon Goddess, and Sky (Fire and Air) Father, God of the Sun, are vegetarians and rely mostly on herbal/ritualistic/healing rather than the new technology of modern medicine so much.

For endless centuries, the "craft of the wise" or wicca has survived. We too have been slaughtered, tortured, and maligned, exploited and scoffed at to the point of near-extinction. Once we were a great majority all over north and south Europe, during the "Crusades". The Great Inquisition saw the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Wiccan men, women & children, and even animals who were thought to belong to, or be "enchanted" by these terrible pagans.

Merry Loona
Davenport, Iowa



NOTES: While being incarcerated in the Wisconsin Correctional Institution at Fox Lake, I have had the opportunity to read some of your publications. The articles which appear in your work are worthwhile and rewarding because they speak not only the mind of the people, but also serve to express just exactly what is really taking place in this country today. The injustices which the government has placed upon those unfortunate persons who happened to be born into a world that is run not on the ideals and freedoms common to all men, but ruled by persons who are out for their own gain.

There is a revolution taking place within our country: not a violent one, but one of peace (and patience, something which the Indian people learned long ago) in which the ideas which have become instituted in our young are changing. With these changes have to come new, well-thinking leaders to provide for the people. Brothers (and I say brothers because we are all one family of Man), we are those leaders of the future, for the future is upon us now.

Let us teach our children well so that they may learn to see the injustice and prejudice which exists and rectify them to the better. It may take time, but who ever got anywhere in a hurry? Won't it be worth the effort to live in a world of peace and tranquility that does not exist now?

Thomas Wilcott
Box 147
Fox Lake Wisconsin 53933



MY RELATIVES: Did you know that the English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish Peoples have been reading in the newspapers about the causes for which you fight? They have heard about you on the radio and have seen you on television. Perhaps you never knew that you have very many friends over here who support you and wish you every success.

I pray that your actions will continue always to be wise, and that all your people will come to recognise you as their true leaders.

Paul Goble
London, England

NOTES: Your paper is absolutely outstanding, and I wish you courage and strength.

I would appreciate it if you would deal with the racial attitudes of Indians towards Black people. I have a white and a black child and have never experienced such open hostility towards my black daughter as on the Fort Hall Reservation. Is this the result of Mormon brainwashing?

Related to my curiosity on this topic is the fact that I know of three cases where an Indian baby was given up for adoption and placed in a white family and in each of these cases the natural father had been black. The adoptive parents were told that Indians do not want their babies if the father is black. Is this true?

Hilda Yoder
Pocatello, Idaho

NOTES: In 1866, Red Cloud had the Sioux Nation Territory closed off to the United States. The government of the U.S. backed down before the power of Red Cloud, and for a time respected the sovereignty of the Sioux Nation. I wish that in the matter of strip mining, with all its destructive elements, the U.S. could be stopped by powerful Indian nations.

Jim Bulkeley
Ayer, Massachusetts



FRIENDS: I am writing you about Senator Barry Goldwater's bill S. 1296 (on the Grand Canyon National Park, which also provides for the return of lands to the Havasupai People, and which did not pass a Senate vote this summer.)

Friends of the Earth is among those environmentalist organizations that oppose S1296. I read with some interest your article "Environmentalists Resist Return of Havasupai Land" (Late Summer, 1973) and think that perhaps our feeling about the issue should be clarified.

It seems to us that the Havasupai should not be denied the use of their lands. But we don't want to see the granting to the Havasupai of such use yoked to the return of National Park lands to exploiters, which is the way Goldwater's bill is constructed.

Environmentalists and Native Americans have many goals in common. We hope that we can work together with you, and Friends of the Earth is basing most of its policy goals in places like the Southwest and Alaska and Micronesia on what is believed to be the natives' best interest. I'm afraid that that has a bad jingoist "white-man's burden" ring to it, which is not at all what I intend. We've worked with the native peoples for the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and on the Black Mesa battle of a few years ago, and hope that this cooperation can expand and continue.

Bruce Colman for Friends of the Earth, Inc.
529 Commercial
San Francisco, California 94111

THE HAVASUPAI REPLY:

Who are the exploiters that these environmentalists keep raising? The Havasupai have not fought for their sacred land for 90 years only to lease it to someone else, and any of them who believe the Havasupai are some sort of tourist Indians have never visited them. The areas the Havasupai demand are the sites of places they wish to protect from Park Service exploitation. These environmentalists who raise such concern about the preservation of the Havasupai's cultural and archaeological wealth should know that the Park Service has been a very poor guardian of Havasupai history. The Park Service has located a public campground on the site of a Havasupai cremation area, and they have systematically destroyed and burned any old Havasupai homes found within the Park. The Park Service bars the Havasupai from using many of the hand-built earth reservoirs their people constructed generations ago.

When the environmentalists warn us all against the destroying Indian, they seem blithely unaware that the National Park Service has hired the Los Angeles-based development firm, ROMA — who designed Disneyland — to plan the development of the South Rim of the Grand Canyon. They plan 100 more housing units — for white people — and numerous additional tourist facilities. Why not an animated rubber likeness of Theodore Roosevelt warning about the heathen red menace? Should be a big attraction. That is phase I of their plan. Phase II of the Park's development plan moves to the development of Indian Gardens, where the Havasupai once farmed, and Phase III will turn to the Colorado River itself. Park Service officials say they are determined to draw a line across the Great Thumb Mesa and shut the Havasupai out of it because they believe the Havasupai wish to let floods of white hunters in to slaughter the bighorn sheep. No Havasupai has ever shown any interest in having the mountain sheep disappear, and in fact Indians of the area who have any sizable reservation land, such as the Hualapai — brothers to the Havasupai — have been much more restrictive in hunting permits than has the Forest Service.

Yet, despite all this, such people as Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club, and the various wildlife federations kept up their steady pressure until the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation amended the Havasupai out of the bill in favor of a study. The recommendations of the Interior Department, who submitted a report on S1296 to the subcommittee June 20, provided much of the force behind this decision. The report included no consultation with the Havasupai, and was not even made available to them until a month later.

Interior and BIA's knowledge of the Havasupai was so distorted that the BIA even reported to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee before the June 20 hearings that the Havasupai were opposed to having their land returned under the Goldwater bill.

Despite the disclaimers of Friends of the Earth, it is very apparent the environmentalists have no interest in the Indian People involved. The environmentalists have created the strongest pressures to sacrifice human beings to rocks and cactus. We can only see your heading as the best statement of the truth: "Environmentalists Resist Return of Havasupai Land."

Editorial Note: We hope that the Friends of the Earth will be able to mount so strong and successful a campaign to have Havasupai land returned that the present feeling of the Havasupai people will be changed to one of strong friendship.

NOTES: In the controversies over Indian remains, the reasons given by the Indians for claiming restitution and reburial of the bones are just as good — to say the least — as the museums' reasons for objecting to it. But whatever the Indians' reasons may be — whether religious, humanitarian, or political — and whatever "value" the remains may have to whites, these remains are Indians, and if the Indians want them back, this wish alone should suffice and be respected. After all, those are their bones, in our museums — the ethical aspect of the issue is obvious.

Museums and archaeology are white men's creations, devised by white men's brains. Most white men do not mind, and even show pride in contemplating relics and bones of their own ancestors displayed in glass cases of museums all over the world. But why should not people from other cultures be allowed to feel differently about this issue?

Ethnocentrism is a bad word to apply to those museums which make one of their purposes to educate people in the diversity and relativity of all cultures. And indeed, restituting remains to whom they belong would be showing respect for those different attitudes that go along with cultural diversity. Thus it would be showing consistency with the educational purpose of the museum.

Museums could even label the empty cases to show what happened... if this were done properly, people leaving the museums would have learned a great lesson in tolerance. They also would have learned more about Indians than by contemplating a thousand of their skeletons.

Dominique P. Hupert (anthropologist)
New York, New York



NOTES: The more I read of NOTES, the more I understand, and the more I understand, the more I get out of each issue.

Paul Williams
Western Quarterly Friends Meeting
Kennett Square, Pa.

NOTES: I would like to hear replies on this subject. I would also like to hear the views of the editor, Rarihokwats, on this subject.

For some time I have been hearing comments and reading words written on the subject of full-bloods, half-bloods, quarter-bloods, etc. I have also been hearing Black. The latter one is the one I am closest to as I am half-blood: Indian/Black.

There are those who are of Indian blood who are of white racist thoughts. They look down on those of Indian/Black blood as being inferior or as not Indian at all, but Black. The same persons would call a person who is half or more Indian but with Black blood a Black, but a person with maybe 1/4 or less Indian blood and white is an Indian to them. Why?

I think it is time we looked at the heart of the individual and not the color of his skin. We need all of the voices and numbers we can get to back the Indian cause. We'd better get ourselves together on our priorities.

Jim Sanuway
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

(There are no pat answers. It is true that the white supremacy concept of race is infecting many of our hearts. There are other ways to find out who a person is than racial identity. Who are his people? What is his language? To whom are her loyalties? What are her spiritual beliefs? Who does she identify with? For which people would she die? The whole concept of "race" and even "Indian" is not of the making of those who support the ways of the Creator, and the sooner the Creator's People forget them and start asking the real questions, the better. Rarihokwats.)

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I thank you for dispensing love in a world filled with hate. Keep on dispensing.

Farrell Sveslosky
Long Beach, California

FRIENDS: You have a great paper. Needed so bad. So keep up the fight and stay with it. May the Great Spirit protect you from all harm.

John W. Sullivan
Cave City, Kentucky

NOTES: Your excellent article on "The World's Greatest Boss" regarding the San Carlos tribal administration scandal reflects the current thinking of most tribal members. Keep up the good work in exposing malpractices. It is needed for the sake of the oppressed, the poor, the uneducated and other unfortunate people.

Tony Machukay
San Carlos, Arizona



BROTHERS & SISTERS: I address myself to you as an Indian, because being Puerto Rican I know that my people had the knowledge of their natural roots, namely Taino Indians, who once lived peacefully in their homeland, Boriquen, now called Puerto Rico.

You and we are one people, a nation of people, regardless of the difference in tribes. We share a commonality. Together we shall win our national liberation. Palante! Power to the People! All People!

George Nieves 29702
Box 51
Comstock, New York 12821

NOTES: Your paper could be a good paper if it had a good purpose behind it. But you are only trying to stir up more and more trouble. The things you print makes me ashamed that I'm an Indian. You could not be Indian at heart and print such trash.

Nelson Begay
Anaheim, California

NOTES: The Jewish People were given back their ancient homeland after having been driven from same after a period of 19 centuries. There are still vast areas of Federal Lands within both the contiguous 48 states plus Alaska where the U.S. Government could compensate the various Indian Tribes for the lands that were stolen outright from them, and those lands where only partial payments were made.

I find your AKWESASNE NOTES the most informative publication concerning all Indians of the Western Hemisphere.

Charles Greier
Obernburg, New York



NOTES: There is a really nice poem by J.R.R. Tolkien in Lord of the Rings that reflects the spirit of NOTES:

All that is gold does not glitter,
Not all those who wander are lost:
The old that is strong does not wither,
Deep roots are not reached by the frost.
From the ashes a fire shall be woken,
A light from the shadows shall spring;
Renewed shall be blade that was broken,
The crownless again shall be king.

Chris Snyder
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

NOTES: In answer to "I am white" Edward Rosen's letter in which he claims that "... teams being named 'Indians' or even 'Redskins' is not racist," I would like to pose just one question.

How would Mr. Rosen like it if those same teams were renamed Maccabees and as mascots running around at halftime had bearded and appropriately-clothed individuals swinging a phylactery box in one hand and leading the band with a Talmud Torah in the other?

To paraphrase Gertrude Stein's famous verse, A racist is a racist is a racist.

Vehig S. Tavitian
(daughter of a survivor of the first genocide of the 20th century — that of 2 million Armenians out of a total world population of 3 million — at the hands of Turks in 1915.)
Bronx, N.Y.



NOTES: I couldn't believe Cherokee Reservation Main Street when I drove through this summer in North Carolina.

Shouldn't a reservation educate? The "village" was very informative, but not all tourists get out of the souvenir shops buying junk. Even stores run by Indians had Philipino salad bowls and beads from Hong Kong. If they don't have enough Cherokee wares, couldn't they sell only American Indian products clearly labelled? How can those men dress in non-Cherokee clothing so the stupid white tourist can have a picture with "the chief"?

Liz Freeman
Philadelphia, Pa. 19143

SEHKON: As a member of the Brotherhood of American Indians here at this U.S. prison,

We here know what
AKWESASNE NOTES means
to us as Indians and as individual men
of many Nations, each a part
of the growing awareness of NOW
We are proud of our Brothers & Sisters
at Akwesasne
Through your efforts
We hear
the words
of our people.

To you at NOTES who have not forgotten
your many Brothers and Sisters
behind prison walls, know this —
We in turn do not forget you.

Erharh Shephard Nedeanu 16160
McNeil Island Prison
Box 1000
Steilacoom, Washington 98388

NOTES: This letter is to inform you that I've made my savings account payable on death to you.

I'm young yet, and hope that I'll have many years of life to come. In the event of my death, I would like to see you get what money is in the account.

I hope you will accept this gesture in the spirit I intended, one of love and respect.

A Reader
New Brunswick, New Jersey

(We are grateful for this gesture, and ultimately, funds received will be put to good use to further our efforts. Others may wish to remember NOTES in their wills and life insurance policies, and we would be glad to communicate with such persons regarding the proper legal form. The Editors)

FRIENDS: Best wishes to our brothers across the sea, and our hearty greetings to the people at Wounded Knee. That is our struggle too — it really is.

As you may know, the Aborigines in Australia have never had any recognition of their ownership of the land, not a pinch of dust. The Government leases certain areas, sure, but never has relinquished ultimate freehold ownership over any of it. Not even the most barren of the deserts, because there might be oil or minerals under them.

But this new white government that the whites put in power has made certain promises, just like the U.S. Government does. It is up to us to see that it keeps them. Otherwise, we will do as you have done, in the same circumstances.

Come to think of it, on my own reserve, the whites have plans to back up a fresh-water lake which borders it, in order to supply the city (120 miles away) with unpolluted water. As well as fancy lake-side building sites, and so on. Kinzua. So our problems are very similar.

Maria Rigney
88 South Terrace, Adelaide
South Australia, Australia



NOTES: I'm pleased that a Native American newspaper has taken a broad view of the need to preserve all "primitive" cultures, including such distant peoples as the Montagnards, Papuans, Tasaday, Ainu, Kazakhs, and others. Your global compassion shines through your choice of articles, and in your support for the IWGIA and INDIGENA organizations.

For the whites who read this paper, I offer a reminder that even Europeans once were hunters and gatherers... tribal... Neolithic... "primitive". Europeans had religions based on Mother Earth, led by local shamans and medicine people. This natural lore persisted into agricultural times, strongly in the countryside, but weaker in the cities.

Later, when the Christian church got political power, the "Old Religions" of Europe were stamped out by violence and totalitarian propaganda. The natural people were called "pagan" (country-dweller) and "witch". Only a few scattered groups secretly preserved the old lore and worship in Europe, handing it down from one generation to the next during many centuries of persecution.

Now this tribal wisdom is becoming more openly available. Numerous groups in England and North America are following the way back to the earth-consciousness which European civilization had lost.

The purpose of this letter is NOT to urge a European path to something which Native Americans already understand. It is merely to show that NO ethnic group is entirely rootless, plastic, industrial, and un-natural. Every race was once in harmony with Mother Earth, as each will be again. Peace.

J. Kabouter
Berkeley, California



BROTHERS & SISTERS: This letter is just to let you know that we sent out a few flyers to various Indian organizations to see if we could help you out in some way. We are going to try to send you some funds if they let us. We will try to do something for you in anyway possible that we can.

Peace and wisdom. Do not lose faith. The Creator is with you in all struggles, just as we are with you. If there is any other way that we can help you that you can think of, let us know.

Part of our flyer reads: "We, the Indian brothers at San Quentin who are locked up and can do very little, ask you out there in the free world to lend a hand [to NOTES]. For once quit talking and start doing. If we here can spare what little we got, then why can't you?"

Ralph S. Franco, Public Relations
American Indian Cultural Group
California State Prison
San Quentin, California 94964

NOTES: The money-changers who come with a Bible in one hand and a shotgun in the other are the ones who killed God's free beef (the buffalo and deer) to make railroads to haul junk for profit. Now they have us all fighting and slaving and stealing to try to get \$2.00 a pound beef.

Even horses scarce, just dust bowls where once grass. Now tractors standing in muddy river bottoms without gas. Our Mother Earth has been and is being raped at the direction of the money-mad power-mad big business pharisees. Mother Earth and Nature will soon shudder & vomit from this rape. Then she will have a cleansing fever. Then, I believe, as is said in the Longhouses, Medicine Lodges & Tibetan temples, in the truly Christian churches, the wise Creator of all will allow the LifeGiver to re-plant the living spirits of all good things into living creatures, side-by-side, to live again.

I have heard the redbird and bluejay singing at midnight in our local woods. When I spot a grouse nest in a dead-standing hemlock tree I know for sure these things are coming now.

Robert Blatt
Beaver, Pa.

NOTES: I am an Italian student. I have got a two-year-old copy of your paper which a friend of mine brought from the States. Here in Rome it is quite impossible to find books and news about the Indians today. There is only a small section of books about American Indians in the USIA Library of the American Embassy, but they all concern the past. Here in Italy very little is known about the American Indian: they all believe in anti-Indian stereotypes of the American films, even though the recent episode of Wounded Knee helped to clear ideas a bit.

Paola Ludovici
Rome, Italy

NOTES, Shalom: As a concerned non-Indian peacekeeper, I am distraught by the corruption of the BIA and the hesitancy of the government to respond to the needs of the Indian nation.

I am quite annoyed at the poor and biased reports in Newsweek, Time Magazine, and other newspapers and periodicals that the public reads. These are highly damaging to Indian integrity and Truth.

I am only one person, but I see clearly what my response must be — I will continue to subscribe to Indian material and to support your cause in all the ways that I can. I pray for your strength, and one day, for peace and reconciliation.

Mimi Efinger

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I would like to comment on some of the letters you have received by white people, commenting on what they call your message of "hate".

Strange, I feel only love from your paper, while others see hate. I will re-read your paper and see if I have missed something, but I think at most I'll find bitterness towards years of lies and distrust of a man who never knew (or cared to know) us. What is in your paper is a determination for a future of Indians by Indians and for Indians.

The black man has left the back of the bus, and the American Indian is leaving the Wild West Show forever.

Madeline Eichleay
Warren, Michigan

NOTES: I would like to get in touch with some of my Seneca & Iroquois people in Baltimore & Maryland.

Also, I am a member of a group called Trail of Tears here in Baltimore. We are students from various minority groups who have formed a coalition to try to effect some changes in Baltimore. We would like to get support and help from Indian communities we are not yet in contact with in Maryland.

John Moore
1213 W. Northern Parkway
Baltimore, Maryland 21209
telephone 435-0673

NOTES: Tommy Porter from White Roots of Peace came to our Indian Week here. Listening to him was a great spiritual experience. If everyone could learn to see things as he expressed them, maybe America could really have a future. Many thanks to him and best wishes to the whole group at Akwesasne.

Russell Kearl
North Salt Lake, Utah

(Sakokwenonkwaw, as Mohawks know Tom Porter, will be meeting on other college campuses starting in January. His college speaking tour is arranged by Carleton Sedgely, 866 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. The Editors.)

NOTES: I am a Chippewa/Seneca Librarian eager to correspond with other Indian librarians about library service to Indians, urban and reservation, and also would like to receive letters from Indians across the country on their experiences with libraries, and suggestion for better library service to Indians.

Mrs. Peggy Richmond
2230 N. Halsted
Chicago, Illinois 60614

LETTERS

NOTES: We want to tell you how much we appreciate your coverage of Wounded Knee, both for its depth and honesty. It was a great help at a time when the occupation was poorly reported. Shalom.

Peggy Davis
St. Paul, Minnesota

NOTES: I wish I could convey the importance I feel the struggle of native peoples of America has for humanity in general.

It is your duty, as the surviving generation of the genocide committed by the monster, to rediscover the beauty & mystery of your past, and to teach us all.

Boyd Whitfield
Dalton, Georgia

NOTES: Your issue on Wounded Knee was superb. And as a professional writer, I can't resist adding that your editorial was a perfect piece of work, setting just the right tone.

Do keep up the good work — I look forward to reading it more than any other journal or magazine that comes to my attention, even more than the New York Review of Books.

Stephen E. Ambrose
New Orleans, Louisiana

(We have reprinted articles by Stephen Ambrose in NOTES from time to time, and we are appreciative of his work, and his encouragement. The Editors.)

NOTES: I have just recently purchased your Willie Dunn album, produced by White Roots of Peace, and I felt I should write to commend you on its production. I would like more recordings of this nature aired to a wider listening audience.

Steven Lowry
Hamilton, Ontario

(The Willie Dunn album of contemporary music on native situations is available from NOTES for \$5 — the album is high-quality stereo, and includes Ballad of Crowfoot, Crazy Horse, Louis Riel, The Carver, and similar tunes sung and composed by Willie Dunn. The Editors)



NOTES: This is to my friend, Emma Mitchell.

Late last spring, a widespread effort was initiated by the Pitt River Tribe to get all California Indians to reject the 47 cents-an-acre settlement [of the U.S. Claims Commission] and return the settlement checks. There was a call for all California Indians to join the Pitt River Tribe in petitioning the U.S. Government to re-open the Claims case. They wanted their ancestral land back, or if that could not be done, a fair settlement so tribes who wanted to do so could buy land for use as a tribal land base.

Long before there was a movement to reject the settlement checks, Emma Mitchell, a Pomo, told friends: "The money, whether it is 47 cents an acre or \$47-million an acre cannot make me sell what is not mine to sell. I will never cash my check."

The settlement checks were mailed out on December 15, 1972, and unfortunately, many of the people who talked the loudest and called the Earth their Mother, sold their Mother to buy a new sofa, new clothes, or a car. Emma Mitchell has not and will not cash her check. She doesn't ask other people to do the same — but she has quietly done what we hoped all California Indians would do.

Emma does not have any more material wealth than her jeans, but her soul is richer by far than many of ours. True, she is only one person who rejected that check, but her example should inspire the rest of us to quietly do what we know in our hearts is right, no matter what the rest of the people are doing.

Emma speaks highly of her ancestors — I think her ancestors would speak very highly of her.

Wilma Mankiller
California

NOTES: It is the purpose of this paper to get the facts straight about the history and the intent of the National Tribal Chairmen's Assn.

In April of 1970, Douglas Skye, the chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux, wrote a letter to all chairmen in the United States asking them to come together to discuss strategies that would allow the voice of the ordinary Indian living on the reservations to be heard.

At this point in Indian history, Indians not tribally elected were crossing and recrossing the land to give advice to and make financial demands upon Christian church organizations, federal agencies and foundations. To many Indian ears, these declarations and demands had the sound of rhetoric from the inner city ghettos and barrios. These Indian people, through no fault of their own, had been raised apart from the values of the traditional people. In many cases they had assumed the values, life styles and rhetoric of non-Indian peoples. They had either forgotten or never learned about Indian consensus or that only a mature and wise person who had proven himself would be chosen to speak for the people. These Indian people became known as "horizontal Indians", that is, persons without the depth or verticalness of traditionalism.

Douglas Skye was alarmed at the misinterpretations of tribal priorities that began to flood the media. He had learned of a situation among Canadian Indians that paralleled ours. Prime Minister Trudeau had issued a "white paper" that threatened the semi-sovereign status of tribes in Canada. Elected chiefs and chairmen came together to meet the crisis and after several days of discussion and heated argument developed a consensus response in the form of a "Red Paper" to the Canadian government. Douglas Skye visualized a similar organization among elected tribal leaders here in the United States that could respond to future crises that would confront Indian people.

With the help of Theodore Hameson, he convened tribal chairmen from throughout the United States in Denver, Colorado, in May, 1970, to organize and to define the perimeters of an organization that would best conform to the centuries-old way of arriving at policy and action through decision-making by consensus. These initial efforts were aborted and a few months later, Doug Skye sent out another letter that brought the chairmen together in Billings, Montana, to reassess the concept. Subsequent meetings were held in Albuquerque, Omaha, and Bismarck, and finally a national NTCA office was established in Washington, D.C.

In August, 1972, at Eugene, Oregon, over 140 tribal chairmen reaffirmed the need of reservation people to articulate their needs to the federal government through the voices of their elected leaders. All the chairmen had come to this meeting with mandates from their tribal councils supporting this concept.

While it is true that other primarily tribally-based organizations such as the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the National Congress of American Indians have championed the cause of Indian rights through lobbying mechanisms, the structure of the NTCA differs in that its members are entirely composed of individuals that have been elected by their tribal members under specific and formal by-laws and constitutions of those particular tribes.

From unexpected voices we hear the mechanical phrase, "elected tribal leaders are corrupt, this is a recording." The list could go on and on of elected tribal leaders who have proven their bravery and compassion for their tribes. Some of these chairmen like Louis LaRose of the Winnebago get no salary. Many others get a below-subsistence salary, but stay at home to fight instead of moving off-reservation where the big money is.

Do we throw out the baby with the bathwater? Are those that condemn tribal councils playing into the hands of those feds and special interests who would like our special status to be abrogated so that there would be no cohesive tribal resistance when moves are made to take the last of our lands and water?

Douglas Skye has been gone two years. His idea will live through those that respect his wisdom.

Ta Wacin Waste Win
(niece of Douglas Skye)



NOTES: I'm sure you get your share of brickbats, so you won't mind a bouquet being thrown your way. I have long admired the painstaking and professional editing you have given NOTES, but the last two issues on Wounded Knee, for my dough, are the finest piece of journalism I've seen for some time. I'm a former newspaperman myself (New York Times) so I can appreciate the great job you are doing.

Keep the issues coming out in your effort to awaken the conscience of America.

Eli Jaffe
New York, New York

NOTES: I don't want your lousy paper. Remove my name from your mailing list.

Ruth Walker
Albuquerque, New Mexico

NOTES: It is refreshing to get the news of native people and their struggle reported as it is, and not slanted to favor those whose greed is destroying this planet.

Ed Raymond
Forestport, New York

NOTES: May I offer my sincere thanks for the work you are doing, and may you have the strength, energy and money to continue your service. As a white woman, I want to know how it really is with the Indian, not through white man's press. If you don't tell us, no one can. We need you, and we need to know you for you are much that we are not.

Patricia Dunton
Wilton, Connecticut

NOTES: Your coverage of Wounded Knee was impressive — though it was obvious your sympathies lay with the Oglalas and AIM (right where they should!) You maintained an attitude of fairness, honesty, and understanding that is rare under any circumstances, much less the desperate ones against which you were contending. As a former journalist myself, I know how difficult these things are.

I can only hope you will be able to continue to maintain such credibility, and most importantly, such humanity and that you will help keep the Indian movement from getting lost in itself as so many other recent causes seem to have done. All of us have much to learn from Indian culture and character — may it be restored to its full vitality.

Darrell Rice
Lexington, Kentucky

PEOPLE: I welcome your paper and support your cause. Not only do I find honest reporting a pleasant change, but also because the Indian movement seems to be the only political (?) movement which at the same time tries to keep in touch with the land and the elements. May the white man open his eyes, and may we all find freedom to live in our own way.

Ronald Thurgood
Shawville, Quebec

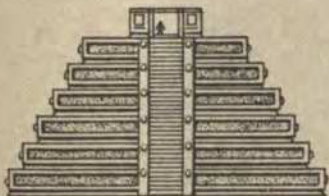


NOTES: Public opinion is now centered on the Watergate scandal. Deterioration in a [nation] should prove to the American people a government that flounders under its own decay is irresponsible and unworthy of jurisdiction over the American Indian. It should also serve to testify that to our own Indian people.

I defy any person, red or white, to come forth and give sound reason why the Indian is not to be an entity upon his homeland. I should like to see established in the future, in the southern Dakotas, a sovereign autonomous Indian state.

My people have witnessed the rise of the U.S., perhaps they will yet see its unwelcomed downfall. The Doctrine of Manifest Destiny on red soil seems to shiver and quake under its own falsehood and deceptions.

Alexis W. Wolf,
Omaha Nation



NOTES: I wrote you recently about my need for funds to place a marker on my mother's grave.

I had several letters. Lou Gilson of New York borrowed the necessary \$100 from his job and sent it to me. Also there were replies from Ms. Lucy Taylor, Winky Pranger, Connie Uri, and T.K. Rueb — if I have left out any other names, forgive me. I would like to thank them publicly for their concern and the time that they took in answering my call for help. Let it be known that I'm thankful to these people and to AKWESASNE NOTES for their assistance.

Willie Left Hand
Box A-E B33672
San Luis Obispo, California 93409

(And Lou Gilson has written NOTES that the loan has now been fully repaid — and much more — by Willie Left Hand, who writes from a California prison. The Editors.)

One of the ways readers of NOTES can help to spread the word is to write a letter to the Editor of your local newspapers, commenting on some matter about native peoples of current interest, quoting from a NOTES article, and suggesting that interested persons should write NOTES at Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. (Recently, Donna Lee Rudzinski of Ballston Lake, New York, did this, resulting in many new subscribers.)



During the summer, some of our people passed into the Spirit World. We remember them here.

Lloyd Powless, 49, was a moving spirit in the Milwaukee community, a founding member of DRUMS, in which he worked hard to save Menominee tribal lands. When a court forbid the Menominees from demonstrating on land which was being sold out from under them, Lloyd Powless publicly burned the injunction and led a massive demonstration. Although he was jailed, continuous protests caused land sales to decline drastically and the developers pulled out. He also was active to help other peoples, and his death is a loss to the Menominees and humanity.

Two young Nisqually brothers, Hal and Leonard Ikebe, were killed when their auto skidded, rolled, and slammed into a tree. Hal was 23, Leonard 20. They are survived by their mother, Mildred, who has been active in Nisqually affairs.

Also in Washington state, Morrie Alexander, master Lummi carver, is mourned. He died while en route to Seattle for a dedication of a beautiful totem pole gracing the entrance of the Seattle Schools administrative center. His other works are at Expo 70 at Osaka, Japan, in the Smithsonian Institution, and elsewhere in Washington. Now, others will have to keep carving for the Lummi people.

In May, Yazzie Begay, president of the Rough Rock School Board, left an emptiness in his community. He had no formal schooling, and earned his living as a herdsman of sheep, cattle, and horses. His gentle personality and wit will not soon be forgotten at Rough Rock, his monument.

John Winchester, a Potawatomi who became a driving force for better education for native youth, died September 30 at his home in Saline, Michigan. He was 52, and was a coordinator of Indian Affairs at Michigan State University, and active in the National Indian Education Association and state Indian commission.

NOTES: White, middle-class Mildred Henderson of Lancaster, Pa., is but one of millions of confused victims of capitalism's false values and evil prejudices, not the least of which is racism, with which they have been programmed from birth. She should be encouraged in what seems to be her honest efforts to overcome this handicap, rather than be condemned for an ignorance so common to so many.

She charges NOTES with "reverse racism", thus falling into the age-old capitalist trap of blaming the victims for the crime, as ill-founded as blaming the hammer for hitting the wrong nail. Racism is NOT a two-way street. Racism is an exclusive divide-and-conquer monopoly weapon of white-racist tyrants who continually strive to foment racial strife on false issues, not only between whites and non-whites, but between the oppressed colored peoples themselves. This has made enormous fortunes for the few at the expense of the many.

Mildred Henderson charges NOTES with vindictiveness. There is nothing vengeful or punitive about the Native Peoples' just demand for reparative damages inflicted on them by this and all other U.S. government administrations. Is she claiming that this barbaric white-racist society and its genocidal government doesn't owe them anything?

She complains of being "rebuffed" — of being unable to communicate and cooperate with Indians. She cannot understand what it really means to be colored in racist America. Some whites can intellectualize the causes of racial oppression, but are unable to submerge their own hurts with those who are not blonde and blue-eyed, much less match their anger at the terrible injustices inflicted upon them daily. Whites become scared when Indians, driven by desperation, adopt militant tactics. It offends their "law-and-order" sensitivities. They cry, "I've never done anything against them — you can't blame ME!" and in trying to exonerate themselves from all complicity and guilt, they are merely saying, "How can I save myself? How can I come out of this alive?" This is why so many radicals reserve their greatest anger for the whites who, to all appearances, are most sympathetic yet are too scared for their lives to join together in the fight for them. This is why communication is so difficult.

Mildred Henderson asks for an action-blueprint for non-Indians. We doubt if such exists, but we offer the following guidelines: Purge all vestiges of arrogant authoritarianism, of snobbish racial superiority, of hypocritical tokenism, so typical of white Americans. Approach them in the humble spirit of an offender before a judge, extending a helping hand in fullest respect and equality on the basis of what THEY want, not on what you want them to want. Avoid as the plague the paternalism of the professional do-gooder.

Above all, be honest with them. Admit your ignorance and short-comings, and ask them for their help in overcoming them. In time, you may be accepted, and in that acceptance may be your own salvation. It's not easy, but it's worth it.

V.V. Roe, Editor
"SANITY NOW"
Box 261
LaPuente, California 91747

(We welcome our grandfather's response — he edits a pungent voice of freedom which he exchanges with NOTES. Send him a \$1 bill for a sample copy, if you find the above letter of interest. Ed.)

NOTES: Today I read your newspapers. It makes my heart glad. So that is why I write this, to send along some few words I have.

I hate violence. I am, and always have been, a peaceful person. I try hard to believe in and walk in my grandparents' footsteps.

This is not easy. The old time stories of the beginning, to the present, as my grandparents taught me — how beautiful, how simple. My religious is so simple, so complete.

The white man walks on the moon. They dam canyons, stopping rivers, and change their courses to meet with their desires. They have made lakes where none were before. They fly about, higher than birds and faster than the fastest winds. They can take a dead man's eyes and put them in a blind man and he can see. They can even cut out one man's heart and give it to another.

When you see a white man's power, it is hard to hold on to the ancient ways. Jesus people look into their holy book and tell of many frightening things. What a great power, it all seems.

Native Americans are like a plant. In our spring and summer, we were strong and beautiful. Then the Europeans came, and the season became autumn for us. Then as reservations came along, it was our winter. All that remained of what we once were is a dried and brittle stock.

But our roots were strong. We have started to gather our strengths to grow. We have sent up a few leaves, such as Alcatraz and Wounded Knee and the BIA takeover. It is still too early in the spring of the white people's world for us, and these leaves cling stubbornly to their new freedom, their new life. They freeze, wither, and die.

But their brief life gave the roots stronger and deeper hope. They gather strength and send out more leaves, until someday, the leaves will live. Then more will come, and someday, the plant, we Native Americans, will be tall, beautiful, and strong once more.

As I have said, I am a peaceful person. But ancient war drums are growing in my heart.

Joseph Blue Sky
Fort Defiance, Arizona

NOTES: Your Wounded Knee issue ought to be in every home.

Frank Waters
Taos, New Mexico

(Our greetings to our grandfather, author Frank Waters. Complete coverage on the Wounded Knee occupation and subsequent events is being compiled in book form — we hope it does get into every home. The Editors.)

FRIENDS: Just a note to thank you for keeping on keeping on.

My education started with Ernest Thompson Seton, but got a main boost when I met Ray Fadden [owner of Six Nations Museum, Onchiota, New York]. I am now convinced that the Human Race will not survive unless it learns soon what the American Indian has to teach it. But unity on broad issues is necessary in spite of differences of opinion on minor matters.

You are carrying on Tecumseh's work.

Pete Seeger
Beacon, New York

NOTES: Keep us all in touch with the outside world. A lot of us know only our family and environment. But we who read tell our uneducated people what is happening, and we appreciate all you beautiful people.

Gaylene Keams
Navajo Nation

NOTES: My book, *Cybernetic Aspects of Language*, was published in The Hague by Mouton and Co. in December, 1972. I have now written to the publisher that all my income from the book should be transferred to your address. Peace and strength.

W.W. Schumacher
Langdysen, Denmark

NOTES: I am an ex-heroin addict, and am a patient on the Jamaica Hospital Methadone Maintenance Treatment Program.

Intense interest has been expressed in fatalities among the Amer-Indian nations to diseases the white man has all but abolished amongst his own. Something all but overlooked, it seems was drug addiction, overdoses, and suicide among the AmerIndian, and how the tribal leaders are dealing with this. Do the men of knowledge and medicine men have a way to deal with drug problems?

Any and all data, specifics, statistics, and information would be enormously appreciated by us all.

Ernie Tubb
Jamaica Methadone Treatment Program #1
Jamaica Hospital, 89th Ave & Van Wyck
c/o Judy Wiederspiel,
Jamaica, New York 11418

BROTHER: Since the controversies of Wounded Knee, only one out of five brothers has been paroled, and even those, parole was almost mandatory. We are feeling the effects of Wounded Knee, and it seemed that this was always the topic of the parole board's interview with the Indian inmate.

Gelemand
Southern Michigan State Prison
Jackson, Michigan

NOTES: A letter from Great Wolf's Spirit (vol 5 no. 4 p. 44) spoke very ignorantly about the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, saying Indians should "stop sticking our necks out by printing articles about the leftist groups of Puerto Ricans for Independence or others."

When the white man came, he brought the vice of colonialism, and subjugated your people and my people, and then handed us over to imperialism. So now we live under two vices. This is why, Great Wolf's Spirit, we must come together from the four directions of the earth, back into the inner circle, and fight for what is our true political identity.

Before 1493, there existed this island which was called "Boriquén" and on this island lived a highly cultured people. They were known as the Tainos. Brother, do you know what this island is called today? It is called Puerto Rico!

Brother, the Spaniards and the Americanos have always taught that the Indians of Boriquén were completely exterminated — but this is another white lie. We are still around, and still striving to liberate Puerto Rico so it can truly reflect a more perfected form of primitive communalism, which is the heritage that we have received from the first people of Boriquén.

I hope this reply to your letter is found adequate to your search for truth. We are all searching for truth, because only truth can guide the arrow of the native warrior to the real target.

I remain yours truly, your guaitaiao (blood brother) in struggle. Que viva Wounded Knee! Que viva Puerto Rico Libre y Socialista! Hasta la victoria siempre,

Salvador Agrón 28298
Attica Prison
Attica, New York 14011



This is not a show any more. Indians are being jailed for trying to live on the land the Great Spirit put them on, and trying to live the way of the Creation. The native people will never be a show again.

It's time to quit watching and start acting.

Clearwater — I'm sorry you had to die to get me to move.

Mary Ann Danaher
San Francisco, California

To readers of NOTES: We appreciate all the letters we receive — you give us strength and renewed senses of direction that way. We try to answer as many as we can, but each day's mail brings a new pile to bury those not answered the day before. So, please keep writing, and please do not interpret our failure to reply as rudeness or disinterest on our part. Someday, maybe, we will have the staff and resources to see that we return your courtesies. NOTES people.

TO THE INDIAN WOMEN OF ALL AGES

Mini-skirts
overalls
high button shoes
and watching grandma
bake bread
Founders of our nations
From the beginning
til now
It was you who held us
from childhood to adulthood
Times have changed
along with the men
You too have forgotten.
Our young along with
our old cry out in the lonely night,
Who am I?
Schools
Fast cars
Genesee beer
Money
They laugh and take
us away from you,
Grandmother!
Teach us, hold us together
So once again
our minds will be one
Once again we will
greet and embrace one another
on our old ways.

— Skaroniate

red bark willow shaven
circle lodge night raven
first snowfall smoke flaps blowing
kneeling woman
feather bark sage root
buffalo home
now be you a son

sun dog red hawk
rock in streambed
prayer talk sunspread
fingertips stretch from
morning to sunset
from this dawn to all that follow
live this sun path

wake up red be as you said
live by his wisdom earth given
awaken red

buckskin black braid
stuffed crow strung bow
sing song of vision way
only rocks stay on this earth forever
today is a good day

— Ron Gyalog

we are earth
& fire

wind &
water



the moon will rise
in painted fever
for all we have
known is darkness
& in darkness
the message will come

the sun will rise
dripping blood
for all we have
known is darkness
but our deaths were
dealt in blazing heat
of day bones bleached
aged we paint them
red & black

it is a time
of visions
it is a time
of painting
no more do we
hide our dreams
we wear them
on our shirts
round our necks
they make music
in our hair

— Karoniaktatie



THE WATER CARRIER

I will make a song to the water.
I have a lover
And I am mad with joy.
We move towards each other
As spills from hidden springs
Seek the same river.

I set out from our village
With my clay jar
Knowing he will leave his work
And walk with me.

Today, the river strains with spring rain,
Fertile with the silt of our land,
Urgent with power
As a woman at the birthing post.

Swimming on the skin of her swollen belly
A blacksnake comes,
Driving his body
To the rhythms of his own drums,
His proud head high above the water.

Around his head
A heron looms, wheels,
Great blue wings parting sheaves of air.

These omens shake us.

I will make a song to the water.
He cuts poles for the roof.

— Joan Yeagley

TURQUOISE TEARS / BOOKS & JEWELRY

you read a book about my past
and how the west was won .
and while your nose was in a book
the stealing still goes on .
you look into a jewelry store
admiring turquoise rings
not knowing that they were pawned out
for flour and cheaper things .
you retire to arizona
to live on stolen land
drinking stolen water
while we are drinking sand.
everything you do affects us,
every time you turn away . . .
they find other ways to cheat us
when you close your eyes to pray.
each time we hope it's different
that we're not a passing fad .
look away from books and turquoise —
look into our eyes instead !
see the fire slowly dying
from the tears that did no good
often failing, always trying . . .
but you never understood .
we asked you once in pain ,
we ask you know in rage ,
— consider our humanity !
(turquoise finger turns a page)

— Bob Bacon

REST IN PEACE

- 1) How did I become a remnant
of the vastness of the Ancient Ways
Soon to join The People
No more to await the flooding
before I plant the seeds in Spring
- 2) When did I become the last
of many who knew the Ways
with knowledge that flowed down
from the immense mountain snows
to a tiny raindrop on the desert

- 3) Why did I become the last hope
for proof of our existence
When long ago our strength
meant no need to doubt
and expressed no concern
for possible annihilation
- 4) What should I do for my children
Give to them my limited knowledge
or leave them in their ignorance
Be to them a teacher of The Ways
or allow myself to die away
to a memory

Oh, my friends
fold my arms across my chest
and leave me with the Earth Mother
forever

Oh, my enemies
arrange my bones in your glass cases
They will be unhappy there
but I will not need them
I still cannot trust you

Oh, my children
don't sing or dance for me
Those that know the songs and dances
are buried with me here
and we cannot understand you

Oh, my Brothers and Sisters in this land
Let me end The Journey now
I would not have wanted you to see me
in such pain and suffering
Your ways are somewhat stronger
Though strange to me as they may be
we are all of The Earth
Carry on past survival to living

I have stopped
and I rest in peace
for the Spirit World
embraces me . . .

— June Leivas
(copyright 1973
all rights reserved)



THE END

Take education from my reservation,
Destroy my Native way,
Appoint a thief to be my chief,
Force me to obey,
Drive me insane with prison and chain,
Ruin my life and name,
Take my bride from my side,
Bring her disgrace and shame,
Teach me to lie, be afraid to die,
To follow a coward's lead;
Encourage me to steal and double deal,
To worship sex, violence and greed.

When you're done and have had your fun,
And I finally become like you,
Remember the man with whom you stand
Can do the same thing too.
There'll be a day when we have our way,
Your rule will reach an end,
Then I'll be your worst enemy,
Though I used to be a friend.

— Sonny Lone Pine
Leavenworth
(from *The Hunter*)